

A  
THANKFVLL  
REMEMBRANCE  
OF GODS MERCIE.

In an Historicall Collection of the  
great and mercifull Deliuerances of the  
*Church and State of ENGLAND*, since the  
*Gospell* beganne here to flourish, from  
the beginning of Queene  
ELIZABETH.

Collected by GEO: CARLETON,  
Doctor of Divinitie, and late Bishop  
of CHICHESTER.

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The fourth Edition revised.

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PSALM. III. 2.

*The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be  
fought out of all them that love Him.*

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LONDON,  
Printed by Aug. Math. for Robert Mylbourne,  
and Humphrey Robinson at the signe of the three  
Pigeons in Pauls Church-yard.

1630.

PLATE I





TO  
THE HIGH, NOBLE,  
AND MOST VERTVOVS,  
CHARLES;  
PRINCE OF GREAT  
BRITAIN, Duke of CORN-  
WALL and of YORKE, &c.  
*the spirit of wisdom, with  
increase of Honour.*

SIR:



S the great Workes of  
God ought to be had in  
remembrance of *all men*,  
so this dutie is more re-  
quired of *Princes*, then  
of other men. Because  
*their* charge is greater then the charge of  
*other men*: for they must answer both for  
the government of *themselves*, and of *others*  
A 3 under

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

under them. Wherefore hauing observed the vvorks of *God* in deliuering this *Church* and *State*, frō the cruell plots of the aduersaries, from the beginning of *Queene Elizabeth* to this time: I found my selfe most obliged to present this to your *Hightnesse*; both because my service, next to his *Majestie*, is most due to your *Hightnes*, & because the remembrance of the great Workes of *God* is a *Glasse* fit for a *Prince* to looke on. For your *Hightness* may be assured, that the Aduersaries will not change their disposition, unlesse either vvee vvere reduced to their *blindness*, or they drawne to imbrace the *truth* with us. I haue made this *Collection*, that by examples of *things past*, we may better iudge of *things to come*. My labour herein is nothing. For I make not the *Story*, but take it of others. And when I light upon the best *Narration*, as that of the *Guns-powder treason*, I haue set it downe as I finde it without alteration. Because as that canno be mended, so to set a worse *Narration* in the place thereof, were no lesse then to abuse the Reader. I leaue the honour

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

honour entire to them that have made the  
Storie, I take no part thereof to me. One-  
ly my care hath been to *observe* upon those  
great Deliverances *the workes of God*, that  
God may be *glorified*, and the cause *iusti-*  
*fied* vvhich God hath maintained from  
Heauen. SIR, I suppose it is hard to find  
a Narration containing more *miraculous*  
Protection of Gods Church, since that time  
wherein God shewed his *Miracles* in pro-  
tecting the people of *Israel*. Which con-  
sideration may serve to fasten your *High-*  
*ness* to the love and *service* of that great  
God, that doth so *strongly* maintaine his  
*servants*. That as hitherto you haue had  
a gracious experience of his grace and  
goodnesse towards you; so your noble  
Heart may grow every day more and  
more in the love and obedience of the  
Truth. VVee are all charged by Gods  
Word to *pray for Kings and Princes*. That  
charge vvhich God hath layd vpon us  
all, no man can put off But when your  
*Hightness* hath effectually made knowne  
your singular care and love to the com-  
mon

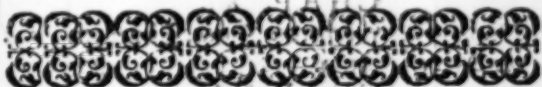
*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

mon good, to the reioycing of all faithfull men; this must needs draw the hearts of all faithfull men neerer to your *Hig'nesse*. And this is a part of your happinesse; for the feare of God and loue of Subiects is able to make *Kings* and *Princes* strong against all their enemies. *God give his iudgements to the King, and his righteousness to the Kings sonne*, and therewith, all blessings; grace and honour here, and glory hereafter.

*Your Highnesse ancient Chaplain,*

*and most humble servant,*

GEO. CICESTRIENSIS.



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A THANK-

# A THANKFVLL REMEMBRANCE OF GODS MERCIE.

## CHAP. I.

*The weake estate of this Kingdome at Queene Elizabeths entrance. Her governments blessed with might and money beyond expectation all on a sudden, to the terrour of the enemies of the Gospell, and comfort of the Professors thereof. The ancient government of the Low Countries, what it was. The treason of Arthur Pool discovered and defeated. The Popes Excommunication and curse against Queen Elizabeth turned by Christ (whose Gospell she maintained) into a blessing.*



*The Entrance of Q. Elizabeth.*



Avuing a purpose to observe GODS  
great and mercifull Deliverances of  
the Church of England, and Gods  
holy protection of the same, against  
the

the manifold, most dangerous, most desperate practices of the adversaries, that have with strange malice and crueltie sought the destruction thereof; and intending to fetch the beginning of this search from the beginning of the reign of *Queene ELIZABETH* of blessed memory: I knew no better way how to enter into this Narration, then to begin with the consideration of the State of *Queene ELIZABETH* at her first entrance; for therein will appeare a wonderfull worke of God; and my intention is to observe the great Workes of God, that God may be glorified.

*Q. Eliz. entered Anno*  
1558.

When this famous *Queene* first entred, she found the State much afflicted, and weakened. All the great States about her were enemies, Friends none. King *Philip*, who offered his love and kindnesse to her, and would haue married her, offering to obtaine the Popes dispensation for him to marry two Sisters, as the like dispensation was obtained by *Ferdinand* his great Grand-father, for his daughter *Katherine* to marry two brothers, he offering this kindnesse, and being refused and rejected, grew first into dislike and discontent, afterwards into hatred, and at last brake out into open Wars. The French King *Henry* the 2. with whom she sought peace, fell off also into open Wars. His sonne *Francis* having married *Marie* *Queene* of *Scotland*, was moved by the *Guyssians*, to cause the Armes of *England* to be joyned to the Armes of *Scotland*, and to professe the *Queene* of *Scots* the Heire of *England*; and because *Elizabeth* was accounted by them an Heretike, therefore they



they sought to put her by, to set the Queene of Scots in her place; so should the French King have *England* also. For the effecting of this, they sent their Armies into *Scotland*, purposing from thence to haue subdued *England*. In so much, that *Sebastianus Martignius*, a young Noble man of the Family of *Luxenburg*, who was sent into *Scotland* with a thousand foot, and some Companies of Horse, could hardly be dissuaded from entring *England* presently. So that *Spaine*, *France*, and *Scotland* were enemies. The State was then much troubled and oppressed with great debt, contracted partly by *Henry* the eight, partly by *Edward* the sixt in his minority, and partly by Queene *Marie*. The treasure was exhausted; *Calais* was lost. Nothing seemed to bee left to her but a weake and poore State, destitute of meanes and friends. If shee would have admitted the Popish Religion, then might all these difficulties haue beene remooved. But establishing the Gospell, shee understood well, that shee drew all these troubles vpon her owne head, yet shee gave the glory to God, and in hope of Gods holy protection, shee established Gods holy Trueth. And verily shee did not serve God in vaine. For it is a thing to bee wondred at, that the Land being then without strength, without Forces, without Souldiers, yea, without Armour; all things necessarie should bee so suddenly furnished. Shee had provided Armour at *Antwerpe*, but King *Philip* caused that to be stayed. Yet shee was not discouraged,

raged, but layd out much money vpon Armour, though shee found the Treasury but poore. Shee procured Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*. She caused many great Guns to be cast, of Brasse and Iron. And Gods providence and favour appeared in her protection. For new Mines of Brasse were found at *Keswick*, that had long been neglected. From whence there was not only sufficient matter to supply her wants, but abundance thereof to bee transported to other Countries. The Stone called *Lapis Calaminarius*, whose use is needfull for working in Brasse, was also at the same time first found in *England*. There was provision made at home also for the making of Gunpowder. Which was done first here by her commandement. For before, it was bought and imported. *Berwick* before her time was weake, and had but 500 Soldiers: She fortified the Towne, made the new inner wall, and increased the number of Souldiers, and their stipends, that provision might bee made for the training up of experienced Souldiers and martiall men. She provided a Navie, the best furnished that ever *England* saw. Neither needed she to doe as her Father and Ancestours were wont to doe, when they wanted Ships, to send for Ships, and hire them from *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, *Danisk*, *Genoa*, and *Venice*; for she had them ready at home to serue her. Yea all the good Townes vpon the Sea coast, beholding this incredible alacritie and forwardnesse in their Prince, strived also to imitate the same, and therefore with great chearfulnesse and readinesse built Ships

Ships for Warre. So that in a short time, the Queenes Ships and those of the Subjects joyned together rose to such a number, that they were able to imploy twenty thousand men in Sea-fight at once. The Noble-men, the Gentle-men, and Yeomen did all strue to answer so noble a resolution of their Prince. And therefore great store of Armour and Weapons were every where provided. And braue spirits were bred and inabled to service, wherby they became an helpe and ornament to their Countrey. So that *Queene Elizabeth* was quickly grown so strong, that all her adversaries were not able to hurt her. And was not this a great work of God? That so weake a Woman should be able to defend her selfe against so many, so potent enemies? Yea, and not onely to *match* them, but to *Master* them? This was Gods doing. Behoid what it is to trust in *God*, and not in an arme of *Flesh*. God will haue his great works to be had in remembrance, that all men, especially Princes, may be taught to know that their safetie is not in worldly policy, but in God which never forsaketh them that trust in him. Here then we haue a worke, for which we are bound to glorifie God. *Elizabeth*, a Prince, at the beginning weak, destitute of friends, unfurnished of treasure, unprepared of all things, had in no other account of her great neighbours round about her, but as one left as a prey to the strongest that would invade her and her Kingdome; yet preparing her heart to God, giving God the glory, establishing his truth in her Land, trusting in him, she was in a few

1 Sam. 1. 30.

few yeares made strong against her enemies; they feared her more then shee feared them. This is an example can hardly be paralleled. It was a work of God in defence of his Church heere, and wee yeeld all glory and praise unto God for his mercies shewed herein. From this example Princes may take a worthy instruction to rest upon God, and to seeke his glory, and know assuredly, that when they are at the weakeſt ſtate, if they give their heart to God, & their ſervice to his true Religion, God will raiſe them to greatnes, who hath promiſed to *honour them that honour him*, and threatned that *they that diſhonour him ſhall be deſpiſed*. Before I leave this example of Gods protection of this noble *Quene* in her firſt entrance, let this bee remembred, that as all the great Princes adjoyning, with the Pope and all, were her great enemies, ſo there were no friends able to helpe her: for they that were friends, and would have helped if they could, ſtood all in need of her help. The *Scots* were ſore troubled with the *French* Armies procured by the *Guyſſans*, but ſhee helped them, and protected the King in his minority, and freed that State from the tyranny of the *French* government. The *Low-countreys* were tyrannized by the Duke *D'Alva*, who changed their government, and inhibited their meetings in Councell. For to ſpeake ſomewhat of the ancient government of that people; to ſtop the common imputations caſt upon them by ſuch as are not well affected to them. Their government was by a generall aſſembly of the States. Their Governours were

were such as were borne within the seuentene Provinces, no strangers. These were anciently the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the Provinces, and of good Townes, meeting together in their generall Assemblies. These so meeting, made lawes and orders whereby that State was governed. The Deputies were sent to the generall Assemblies, by the Suffrages of the people, and upon cause they were recalled by the people, and other sent in their roomes. This manner of government some of the Dukes of *Burgundie*, and some others disliked, as giving too much power to the people, and too little to their Dukes: and therefore laboured to change it, but could not. *Charles* the fift Emperour would gladly have changed their government; but when hee saw that it could not bee done without the commotion of the whole State, he left it undone. *Philip* the second, *Anno 1549. July 8.* tooke his oath, which he made and renewed againe, *Anno 1555.* to keepe, maintaine, and preserve these Countries in their ancient rites, priviledges, and customes, without breaking them, or suffering them to be broken, in any sort or manner. But when the Duke *D'Alva* was Governour there under the King, hee practised the contrarie, and professed that the King was not to governe them as his ancient Inheritance, but as upon a new Conquest, making what Lawes hee would, and setting what government best pleased him. Whereupon his whole drift and practise was for a new Conquest of all the Provinces and Townes. The pretence of Religi-

on was sought: but it was resolved by the Councell of *Spaine*, to change the whole government, and to erect a new. This appeared as well by the Dukes open profession, as by those designs which he practised vpon the persons of some of the Nobilitie, and vpon the good Townes. For when the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*, were apprehended and put to death, mistrusting nothing, because they knew no cause to mistrust: they that did this could not pretend Religion, because these Earles were of the Popish Religion. They could not pretend any disloyaltie against them, for their firme loyaltie and their great services to the King made them so confident; onely it was thought, that these Noble men would never yeeld to the change of the government of that State, therefore they were cut off. The like appeared in the strange surprises, and cruelty practised against many townes, which were of the Popish Religion. For diuers townes that were firme to the *Spaniard* in the poynt of Religion, and in obedience to the King, when Armies were sent to them, entertaining the Armies in all obedience, opening their gates, shewing all love and friendship to the *Spanish* Armies, were of a suddaine surprized, and brought to utter ruine; the *Spaniards* killing and massacring all, taking their goods, abusing their wiues and daughters, as the manner of such barbarous men is in a new Conquest, exercising more cruelties against their professed friends, then they could doe to their enemies. Such barbarous cruelties were practised  
against

against the Towne of *Machlen*, *Maeſtrich*, *Zutphen*, *Naerden*, *Antwerp*, and others who were their friends, agreeing in the ſame religion with them, holding, as then, their obedience firme to the King: yet were they ſpoyled, killed, ranſacked, and overthrowne like enemies. Which ſtrange crueltie declared, that it was not Religion that mooved this crueltie, but that which the Duke *D<sup>h</sup>Alva* did openly profeſſe, that the King muſt hold all the *Low-Countries* by a new conqueſt, that ſo he might change the government, and impoſe what lawes he would.

It may ſeeme a ſtrange uſe of the Popes Authoritie which King *Philip* made, when from the Pope hee got a diſpenſation of that oath, which hee had taken at his entrance into the *Low-Countries*. That is an uſe of a Pope fit indeed for them that would doe whatſoever they liſt without conſcience, or the feare of Gods lawes, or mans. If ſuch an uſe may be made of the Popes power, then Popiſh Princes muſt needs in the ſight of the world, ſeeme to have a great advantage over others. But if they may ſo diſpenſe at their pleaſure with oathes and promiſes, then may all thoſe of the Religion ſee plainly, that there are neither human nor divine bands or ſecurity that can bind Papiſts: for when they pleaſe, the Pope will free them frō all bands of conſcience, from the lawes of God, of man, of nature, of nations. But God will not be thus ſerved. And therefore by Gods juſt judgments they that relie upon ſuch ungodly practiſes, loſe more in the end, then they gaine



by such profane dealings. This was the cause of their troubles in the *Low-Countries*. That State being then so troubled, could yeeld no helpe to Queene *Elizabeth*, yet did she yeeld helpe to them.

The King of *Denmarke* and the Protestants in *France* were not able to helpe her, nor to helpe themselves without her meanes. This must needs bee acknowledged an extraordinary blessing of God, to make her able to withstand the greatest enemies, and to helpe all that were distressed for Religion.

This famous Queene, though troubled by foraine States in the beginning of her raigne, yet had great peace and quietnesse at home. This was the fruit of true Religion: her Subjects lived in peace and tranquillity; no motions then attempted, only in the fourth yeere of her raigne, *Arthur Poole*, and his brethren, comming of therace of *George Duke of Clarence*, who was brother to *Edward the fourth*, and *Anthonie Forteskue*, who married their sister, with some other of that conspiracie, were brought to their triall, for that they had conspired to flie to the *Guise* into *France*, and thence to come with an armie into *Wales*, and there to declare the *Scottish Queene*, to be Queene of *England*, and *Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence*. All which they freely confessed at their triall; yet protesting, that it was not their purpose to execute this Designe, as long as Queene *Elizabeth* lived, who as they supposed should dye within a yeere: for so some colensing *Astrologians* had told them. Whereupon they were condemned, yet their lives were spared in respect



respect of their blood. Wherein we may acknowledge the goodnesse of God in discovering such a plot before it tooke strength, and the noble nature of the Queene, that dealt so nobly with her owne blood.

Thus the Land within rested in great quietnes, for some yeares. The Church was established, and increased, learning flourished, godlinesse and true pietie prevailed, Popish ignorance was driven into corners. The *Papists*, that then were, were content to keepe themselves quiet. Either they kept their Religion private to themselves, or else they came to our Churches, as most of them did. But the enemy of all goodnes envying this peaceable state of *England*, stirred up the Pope to give occasion to new troubles, and to wrap the kingdome into dangers. Whereby as the Church hath been more troubled then it was before, so the *Papists* have got nothing by the bargaine, but lost much, by stirring up the peaceable inclination of the Prince against them, by provoking the State to make severe Lawes to curbe them, who might have lived quietly, if they had not procured their owne trouble.

*Paulus III.* was Pope when Queene *Elizabeth* began to raigne; this Pope was not troublesome against her. His successor was *Pius III.* who seemed to be a moderate man. For he was mooved by the Count of *Feria*, (who served the King of *Spaine*) to excommunicate Queene *Elizabeth*, but hee thought it not good to proceed to such extremities. For seeing the Popes authoritie is a thing

*Anno Dom.*  
1560.

consisting rather in the conceits of some men, then in any truth and substance: If it should once appeare that this thunderbolt of excommunicati-on, whereby he hath so much terrified the world, should prove idle, ineffectuall without all power, then might this great authority fall into contempt, and so be made ridiculous. Whether for this cause or what other, he would not be perswaded to use this extremitie against the Queene, but sent Letters, shewing some love and kindnesse, by an Abbot *Parpalia*, by whom also he sent certaine secret Mandates. Which what they were was not openly knowne. But some, acquainted well with State affaires then, reported that the Pope offered to recall and disanull the sentence as unjust, which was given against her Mothers marriage, and to confirme the *English Leiturgie* by his authoritie, granting also the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, so that she would ioyne her selfe to the *Romane* Church, and acknowledge the Popes supremacie. And for the effecting heereof, a great summe of gold was promised to some that should bee used as instruments for this purpose. But Queene *Elizabeth* remaining *SEMPER EADEM*, ever like her selfe, utterly denied to have any thing to doe with the Pope.

But



The rebellion of the Earles of Northumberland and Westmoreland • F. 1569.

But the next Pope, *Pius V.* that succeeded, tooke another course, whether a better or worse, let the event declare. For in the yeere 1569. he sent out an excommunication against her, & all adhering to her, wherein her subjects were absolved from the Oath of their Allegiance, and from all other offices and duties, and that all that should obey her were accursed. Which thing brought more trouble upon the *Papists*, then upon the *Queene*, or any of her obedient subjects. And hath openly declared to all the world, that the *Popes* curse is a thing proceeding from private spleene and malice, and now nothing feared but contemned, when all men may see, that the *Popes* curse is turned by the favour of God into an extraordinary blessing, and that

This Bull was dated Anno Dom. 1569. Quinto Cal. Mart.

that the *Pope* is not *Christs* Vicar in these minist-  
ries, because hee is contrary to *Christ*, and *Christ*  
contrary to him. The *Pope* cursing, and *Christ* blef-  
sing; the *Pope* seeking thereby to destroy the  
*Queene*, *Christ* maintaining her, made her stronger  
after this curse, then ever she was before. Yet it is  
true that many troubles did rise thereby, but God  
turned them all unto her good, that men may un-  
derstand the fruit of true Religion established,  
which bringeth the protection of God with it.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*The Rebellion of the Earles of Westmerland and Northumberland, related distinctly by Hieronymus Catena, so strongly plotted, so secretly carried, by the hand of God disappointed and broken in pieces. Leon: Dacres his overthrow by it. This is the fruit of Popery, and the first effect of the Popes Bull.*



*The Popes bull against the Queene.*

**H**e first poysoned fruit of this excommunication was rotten before it could ripen. There was an intention of a great and terrible Rebellion. The Duke of Norfolk was excited to stirre what Forces hee could, and to joyne with the Earles of Westmerland and Northumberland: at the same time an Ar-

D

my

my was to come out of *Ireland*, and an other Army to be sent from Duke *D'Alva* in the *Low-countries*. If all these had joyned together, as the intention was, God knoweth what might have ensued. But there is no counsell can prevaile against God. All the plot was broken in pieces without any other trouble, saving that which fell upon the plotters themselves & their instruments. The King of *Spaine*, who watched all opportunities to doe mischief, wrote one Letter to the Duke of *Norfolke*, exciting him to raise a power within *England*, and wrote another to the Earle of *Ormond*, to raise a tumult in *Ireland*. But both the Duke and the Earle shewed the letters to the Queene, declaring thereby a purpose to be loyall. The Duke suffered himselfe to be wrought upon too much by pernicious instruments. The instruments were the Bishop of *Ross*, who lay in *London*, under pretence of being Ambassadour for the Queene of *Scots*, and one *Robert Ridolfe*, a Noble-man of *Florence*, who lay in *London*, in the habit and pretence of a Factor. These pestiferous instruments laboured to perswade the Duke to marry the Queene of *Scots*, who being next heire to the Crowne of *England*, would bring great hopes with her; and by subtile and pernicious counsell drew the Duke so farre, that against his promise made to the Queene, hee began to thinke of that Marriage, and the hopes that might follow the same, and entred into a secret course of writing and receiving letters from the queene of *Scots*, by secret characters. All which together with a Commentary sent to him by the  
*Scots*

*Scots Queene*, the Duke commanded his Secretary *Higford* to burne. But he laid them under the Matt in the Dukes chamber. And being apprehended, declared where they were. At the Dukes arraignment a letter was produced, written to him from the *Scots Queene*, signifying her grieve for that the Earles of *Westmerland & Northumberland* were up in armes before the Duke had raised his powers. For *Queene Elizabeth*, finding whereunto things tended, apprehended the Duke, and sent for the Earles to come to Court; but because they had once excused their absence, she sent peremptorily for them, all excuse laid aside, upon their alleagiance to come up. Supposing that if they were innocent, they would come, but if guilty, then should their purpose sooner breake out into open fight. As it fell out. For they supposing by this, the plot to be betrayed, brake out into open rebellion, before the helpe which they looked for from other parts could come to thē. This rebellion was plotted by the Pope *Pius V.* and by the King of *Spaine*, and was so cunningly handled, and carried with such secrecie, that it was well knowne to strangers before it was knowne to vs whom most the matter concerned. And no marvell, seeing strangers were the devisers and first authors of it. I will therfore declare it in the words of a stranger, who set it foorth in Print at *Rome*, before it was well knowne in *England*. *Hieronymus Catena* in the life of *Pius V.* writeth thus.

“ When *Pius V.* was inflamed with a zeale to restore the *Roman* Religion in *England*, and to dis-

“place Queene *Elizabeth* out of that Kingdome;  
 “and yet could not have his *Nuntio* Apostolicall,  
 “nor any other publike person fit to effect this  
 “thing: he ordered the matter so, that *Robert Ri-*  
 “*dolf*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, (who stayed in  
 “*England* under colour of Merchandise) should  
 “stirre vp the minds of men upon the destruction  
 “of *Elizabeth*. Which thing he diligently execu-  
 “ted, not onely among the *Catholikes*, but also a-  
 “mong some *Protestants*, who conspired together  
 “herein; some out of private hatred against them  
 “that aspired to the Kingdome, others out of a  
 “desire of a change. Whilst these things were se-  
 “cretly carried, a contention rose betweene the  
 “*Spaniard* and *Elizabeth*, upon the occasion of a  
 “summe of money going to the Duke *D'alva*, but  
 “intercepted by *Elizabeth*.

“This occasion the Pope apprehended to per-  
 “swade the *Spaniard*, that he would helpe the con-  
 “spiratours in *England* against *Elizabeth*, that so  
 “he might have his affaires in the *Netherlands* in  
 “greater security, and the *Roman* Religion might  
 “be restored in *Britaine*. The Pope also perswa-  
 “ded the *French*, shewing him that this he ought  
 “to the *Scots* *Queene*, affianced to him, and wor-  
 “thily to the *Scots*, who by their Incurfions had  
 “withdrawne the Forces of *England*, that they  
 “could doe lesse helpe to the *Protestants* of *France*,  
 “neither did the noble conspiratours of *England*  
 “deserve lesse favor of him, who by their cunning  
 “have hindered the *Queene* of *England* to give  
 “any helpe openly to the *Protestants* of *France*. In  
 this



“ this respect the *French King* promised them ayd  
“ for the deliverance of the *Scotts Queene*, but failed  
“ of performance of any thing. In the meane time  
“ *Ridolphus* effected thus much, that the conspira-  
“ tors should draw the Duke of *Norfolk* into their  
“ societie, and make him chiefe therein, to whom  
“ they promised marriage with the *Scotts Queene*,  
“ whereto shee consented. The Pope to set these  
“ things forward, by his Bull published, deposed  
“ *Elizabeth* from her kingdome, and absolved her  
“ subjects from all oath and alleagiance, sending  
“ the printed Copies to *Ridolphus*, which might  
“ bee dispersed over *England*. Whereupon the  
“ Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* took  
“ Armes against their Prince, who presently, mo-  
“ ney and meanes fayling, withdrew themselves  
“ into *Scotland*. The Duke of *Norfolke* with others  
“ were committed to prison. Among them was  
“ *Ridolphus*, whom the Pope had appoynted to  
“ helpe the Conspirators with an hundreth and  
“ fiftie thousand Crownes, which thing he could  
“ not doe being clapt vp in prison. But when the  
“ *Queene* could not pierce into the secrets of the  
“ conspiracie, hee was sent out of prison with o-  
“ thers, and then hee distributed those Crownes  
“ to the conspirators. Who sent him to the Pope  
“ to informe him that all things were prepared in  
“ a readinesse and ordered against *Elizabeth*: and  
“ to intreat the *Spanish King* to joyne his Forces  
“ from the *Netherlands* as soone as may bee: the  
“ Pope commended the enterprise, albeit, the  
“ Duke *D'Alva* did not like it, as being full of dif-  
“ ficulties,

“ ficultries, when as *Ridolphus* in his journey told  
“ him the matter. The Pope sent *Ridolfe* to the  
“ *Spanyard*, under another pretence, and to the  
“ King of *Portugall* with instructions; and at the  
“ same time writing to the Duke of *Norfolke*, pro-  
“ mised him aid. He did much urge the *Spanyard*  
“ to helpe the conspirators, & to the end he might  
“ the more vehemently stir him up, he promised,  
“ if need were, himselfe would goe for to helpe  
“ them, and would ingage all the goods of the Sea  
“ Apostolike, Chalice, Crosses, and holy Vest-  
“ ments. Declaring that there was no difficulty in  
“ it, if he would send *Chapinus Vitellius* with an ar-  
“ my into *England* from the *Low-Countries*. Which  
“ thing the King of *Spaine* commanded to be done  
“ with great alacrity. And the Pope provided mo-  
“ ney in the *Netherlands*. These things were not  
“ pleasing to the Duke *D'alva*, both because hee  
“ envied *Vitellius* this glory, wherein hee rather  
“ wished his owne sonne to be employed, and be-  
“ cause hee feared some hostile Invasion out of  
“ *France*, and proposed it to be considered, whe-  
“ ther *England* being overcome would fall to the  
“ *Spanyard*, whether the *French* would not resist  
“ that project, and whether the Pope were able to  
“ bring helpe enough to effect so great a matter.  
“ Notwithstanding the *Spanish* King expressly  
“ commanded him to set upon *England*. *Ridolfe*  
“ was sent backe with money to the *Netherlands*.  
“ But see how God would have it: All the matter  
“ was opened to *Elizabeth* by a stranger without  
“ the Kingdome. The Duke of *Norfolke* was ap-  
prehended

“prehended and put to death. Which thing the  
“Pope tooke heavily, the *Spaniard* condoled, who  
“before the Cardinall of *Alexandria*, the Popes  
“Nephew, said, that never any Conspiracie was  
“more advisedly begun, nor concealed with more  
“constancie and consent of minds, which in all  
“that time was not opened by any of the conspi-  
“rators: that an Armie might easily be sent out  
“of the *Low-countries*, in the space of 24. houres,  
“which might suddenly have taken the Queene  
“and the citie of *London* unprovided, restored Re-  
“ligion, and set the *Scots* Queene in the Throne.  
“Especially when as *Stukley* an English fugitive  
“had undertaken at the same time with the helpe  
“of 3000. *Spaniards*, to reduce all *Ireland* unto  
“the obedience of the King of *Spain*, and with  
“one or two Shippes to burne all the English  
“Navie. Thus farre *Catena* writeth of these  
things, opening some things that before were not  
knowne to the English. The Booke was printed  
at *Rome*, *Ann. Dom.* 1588. by the priviledge of  
Pope *Pius V.*

This is the Narration of a *Papist*, published at  
Rome by the authoritie of the Pope. It may  
seeme strange to men that have any feeling of the  
feare of God, that a Pope should so boldly pub-  
lish his owne shame to all the world. The Pope  
doth practise treason against States, sets his in-  
struments to raise rebellions, stirreth vp Princes  
against Princes, one Kingdome against another,  
and when hee doth this, hee will not understand  
that hee is, in this doing, the instrument and ser-  
vant

vant of the Devill to disorder the world. If any would excuse this, as being done against an Heretike: that excuse will not serve heere; for I speake not of excommunicating supposed Heretikes, but of raising rebellions against Princes, to set the subjects to murder the Prince, or to stirre up one Prince to murder another: these things be wicked and vngracious practices; but the *Papists* are growne to such an obduration in these sinnes, that they judge these no sinnes, to murder, or secretly to poyson, or by any horrible mischief to compass their owne ends. The things that are by the Lawes of God, of Nature, of Nations, wicked and abominable, against the Ordinances which God hath set in the world, must forsooth change their Nature, if the Pope command them; nay, if any of their Superiours command such things, their doctrine of *blinde obedience* sets them upon any mischief; and so they doe not onely *teach for doctrines mens traditions*; but *make doctrines for mens destructions*. If the Popes presume that they have such a privilege, that the things which are horrible sinnes in other men, are no sinnes in them: this were in effect as much as for the Pope to proclaime himselfe *the Man of sinne*, that runneth into all sinfull courses with *greedinesse*, with an open profession of the same. For what can any man of sinne doe more, then to *command sinne*, to *warrant sinne*, to *commit sinne*, to *glory in sinne*; If all this be done by the Pope, who can iustly deny him this Title of *the Man of sinne*?

But

But blessed be the name of God, that alwayes deliuered his Church heere from such wicked practices, and hath brought the mischiefe that these wicked men have devised, upon their owne head. Now let all understanding men iudge where God is, where godlinesse is, where Religion and the feare of God is. Whether with them that by bloody, vnjust, unlawfull practises seeke their owne ends, or with them that are persecuted by this bloody Nation, and in patience suffer all their mischievous and cruell practices, committing the matter to God the revenger of blood, and trusting in God, rejoyce under his holy protection, being kept in safetie by him that commandeth all the world? For what power could bee able to keepe his Church from being swallowed up by such cruell adversaries, but onely the hand and holy protection of our God? Must not wee then glorifie his Name that hath done so great things for us? And for our adversaries, they have their power limited, and they have their time limited, and set forth vnto them beyond which they cannot passe. But the soules of them that rest under the Altar, whose blood hath been shed on every side by this bloodie generation, for the testimony of Christ; these crie out with a lowd voyce, *Vsquequo Domine?* How long Lord, holy and true? Doest thou not iudge and revenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? Yea so blind are these blood-suckers, that they labour still to increase this crie; but GOD will give patience to his Saints, and in his time

Apoc. 6. 10.

Psal. 59. 5.

cut off this wicked Nation. *Be not mercifull O Lord to them that sinne of malicious wickednesse.*

Psal. 124. 6.

Thus then this rebellion that was so strongly plotted, so secretly carried, was by the hand of God disappoynted, and broken into pieces. We have cause to blesse the Name of God therefore: *Praised bee the Lord, that hath not given us as a prey to their teeth.* Thus can wee comfort our selves in God. But can our adversaries comfort themselves in their owne mischiefes? The issue was, the Pope and the Spanyard were disappoynted, the World wondered, how this State was so soone

An. Dom. 1569

quieted. The Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, seduced by a Priest that the Pope had sent, one Nicholas Morton, came to Durham where they had the Masse set vp. From thence they marched to Clifford-Moore, not farre from Weiberby, where hearing that the Scots Queene, (for whose deliverance they tooke Armes) was carried from Tutbury to Coventry, under the custodie of the Earles of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, and that the Earle of Suffex on the one side had gathered a strong Armie against them, that Sir George Bowes was behind them, having fortified Bernard Castle, that the Lord Scroop and the Earle of Cumberland had fortified Carlisle, and gathered an Armie there in readinesse, that the Souldiers of Berwicke with the power of Northumberland were in Newcastle, they turned backe againe, and besieged Bernard Castle. Sir George Bowes, and his brother Mr. Robert, being driven by an hard siege, and wanting provision, yeilded the Castle, and they  
and

and the Souldiers were dismissed, carrying their Armes with them as it was covenanted. Vpon the first newes of the feares which the Earle of *Sussex* brought against them, the Earles fled to *Hexham*, from thence, seeking by wayes, to *Naworth* Castle. Whence the two Earles fled into *Scotland*, the Earle of *Northumberland* hid himselfe in the house of *Hector* of *Harlaw* an *Armstrang*, having confidence in him that hee would be true to him, who notwithstanding for money betrayed him to the Regent of *Scotland*. It was obserued that *Hector*, being before a rich man, fel poore of a sudden, and so hated generally, that he never durst goe abroad, in so much, that the Proverbe to take *Hectors* cloake, is continued to this day among them, when they would expresse a man that betrayeth his friend, who trusted him. The Earle was afterward delivered into *England*, and condemned of high treason, and beheaded. *Westmerland* found meanes to hide him a while with *Fernihurst* and *Bucklough*, and escaped into the *Low Countries*, where being sustained by a poore Pension of the King of *Spaine*, he lived a poore life all his time.

This is the fruit of *Popery*. It bringeth Noble houses to destruction. It pitied their hearts, against whom the rebellion was raised, to see such Noble persons brought to such a destruction. But the *Pope* is without pittie and mercie, the *Priests* and *Iesuites* that bring such Noble men into such snares, have no pittie nor mercy. Therefore it behooveth all noble persons to be wise, and to avoid pestiferous waies, that is, to shut their eares against



*Priests* and *Iesuites*. These bee pernicious instruments, that secretly convey themselves into great mens favour, to bring them to ruine; they tell them of the Religion of their Fathers, but true Religion bringeth a blessing, and Religion that bringeth alwayes a curse, is to be suspected. And to say truth, the Religion of *Rome*, as now, is not the Religion of our Fathers. For Religion was changed in the *Trent Councell*; and therefore they cannot say they have now that Religion which their Fathers had. And that Religion was changed in the *Trent Synod*, is by learned men sufficiently proved, and we are readie to maintaine it: for where the *Rule of Faith* is changed, there must needs follow a change of *Religion*, and a change of the *Church*. But in the *Trent Councell* the rule of Faith is changed, And therefore men may observe a great difference betweene these men that are now called *Papists*, and their forefathers. God blessed their Fathers, because they served God in sincerity, according to that measure of knowledge which was revealed to them; for he that serveth God truly, according to that measure of knowledge which hee hath, and holdeth the rule of Faith, is without doubt accepted of God, and God doth blesse such. But after that God hath revealed a greater measure of knowledge, by the spreading of the favour of his Gospell, they, who then forsake the truth offered, are followed with great curses. And therefore wee may plainly observe the curses of God upon them that forsake God and his truth; Where the *Pope* curseth, wee see that God doth blesse, and



no evill followeth : where God doth curse, wee see destruction followeth.

This rebellion was scarce extinguished, when another little flame rose from this greater combustion. *Leonard Dacres* the second sonne of *William Lord Dacres* of *Gillesland* (whose eldest brothers sonne was killed with a *Valting horse*) was much grieved to see so great a patrimonie to goe from him to the daughters of the *Baron* whom the Duke of *Norfolke* their Father in law had joyned in marriage with his sonnes. This so troubled *Leonard Dacres*, that having no other way to revenge himselfe, he tooke the course of impatient and discontented men, to revenge all upon himselfe, and joyning himselfe to the rebels, strived, but in vaine, to deliver the *Scots Queene*. When they were in Armes, then was *Leonard Dacres* at Court, and offered the *Queen* all his helpe against them, and for that service was sent home. But (as it came to light afterward) in his journey by messengers with the rebels hee had communication, and encouraging them, undertooke to kill the Lord *Scroope*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*. Which when he could not effect, he tooke *Graftocke Castle*, and other houses of the Lord *Dacres*, and fortified *Naworth Castle*, holding it as in his owne right, and gathered souldiers about him. Against him came the Lord *Hunsdon*, with the trained souldiers of *Berwick*. *Leonard* not trusting to his fortified places, came to meet the Lord *Hunsdon*, and meeting him when he passed the river *Gelt*, after a sharp battell, finding himselfe put to the worse, his men killed,

he fled into *Scotland*. And so went into the *Low-Countries*, and in a poore estate dyed at *Lovaine*. The Queen by Proclamation pardoned the multitude which he had drawne to take his part.

This man ran a strange course. When he might have been out of danger, he runne into a quarrell which he might evidently see to be lost before he came to it. But hee was *drunke* with the cup of *Rome*; for who would run such courses but drunken men? It may teach others to beware of those that bring such poysoned and intoxicating cups from *Rome*.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. III.

*A Commotion in Ireland inflamed by Iohan. Mendoza, extinguished by the Earle of Ormond. The King of Spaine pretends the enlargement of the Scots Queene, but intends the enlargement of his owne Dominion. Don Iohn of Austria goeth about to deliver and marry the Scots Queene. Hee sends out a perpetuall Edict of Peace, and presently breaketh out into warre. He dyeth on a sudden, and so his purpose was disappointed.*



*The treacherous practise of Don Iohn of Austria. / \**



O proceed and to declare the pestilent fruit of the Popes Excommunication, which wrought still to the confusion of them that served it. At this time in Ireland, Edmond and Peter Botlers, brethren to the

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the Earle of *Ormond*, joyning with *James six. Morrice* of *Desmonds* family, and with others, sought to doe service to the Pope and *Spaniard* against Religion, and with a purpose to draw *Ireland* away from the obedience of *Queene Elizabeth*. To this end they made a league among them. To inflame this rebellion *Iohannes Mendoza* came secretly out of *Spain*: and to extinguish the flame, the Earle of *Ormond* went out of *England* into *Ireland*, who laboured so effectually, that hee perswaded his brethren to submit themselves. They were put in prison, but that they might not be brought to judgment, the Earles daily intercession prevailed with the *Queene*. It grieved the Earle exceedingly, to see such a blot vpon so noble a family; And the *Queene* was willing to preserve the honour of the house: as for the reliques of that rebellion, they were in short time dissipated by the wisdom of the Lord *Deputy*, and the industry of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*.

This was but a small motion: but it sheweth the restless spirits of the *Pope* and *Spaniard* against our *Church & State*. And we render thanks to God for breaking the purposes of our adversaries before they grew great. This is his goodnesse toward his *Church*; and his judgement vpon the adversaries.

The King of *Spain* neuer rested to stirre up troubles to *Queene Elizabeth*, pretending the deliverance of the *Scots Queene*; but it appeareth that his intention was for himselfe, as the Duke *Darva* understood it. This is evident by that which wee have mentioned out of *Catena*. For Duke

Duke *Dalva* was in some feare, that if *Queene Elizabeth* were overthrowne, yet the Kingdome of *England* might not fall to the *Spaniard*, but to the *French*. So that it was in their intention certainly to be cast upon the *French* or *Spaniard*; and here was no reckoning made of the *Queen of Scots*. So that howsoever the pretence was for her deliverance, yet there was another thing intended. For seeing *Queene Elizabeth* was excommunicated, and deposed; if she could once be overthrowne, then they made no other reckoning but that *England* would fall to the strongest. Now the *Spaniard* thinking himselfe the stronger, sought this prerogative for himselfe, and therefore he ceased not to raise troubles to the *Queene*, & the rather, because hee held it a thing impossible for him to recover the *Low-countries*, unlesse he had *England*. But because he found it a matter of great difficulty to set upon *England*; his first enterprise was to set vpon *Ireland*. But when that succeeded not, at last with all forces that might be raised with many yeares preparations, hee set openly vpon *England*. But these things are to be spoken in order. Onely this I premise, that we may know from whom all our troubles have proceeded.

Many conspiracies brake out one after another, under pretence of delivering the *Queene of Scots*. To effect this thing, *Thomas Stanley*, and *Edward* his brother, the younger sons of the Earle of *Darby*, *Thomas Gairard*, *Rolston*, *Hall*, and other in *Darbyshire* conspired. But the sonne of *Rolston* which was Pensioner to the *Queene*, disclosed the conspiracie.

As. Dom. 1570.

P

And

And they were imprisoned, all except *Hall*, who escaped into the *Ile of Man*. From whence by the commendation of the Bishop of *Ross*, he was sent to *Darbrieten*. Where when afterward the Castle was wonne, he was taken, and brought to *London*, where he suffered death.

An. Dom. 1571

Before the Duke of *Norfolk* was beheaded, there were that conspired to deliver him out of prison. The Bishop of *Ross*, at this time, a dangerous instrument against *England*, and as dangerous against the *Scots* Queene, for whom hee laboured, gaue desperate counsell to the Duke, that with a choyce company of Gentlemen, he should intercept the Queene of a sudden, and trouble the *Parliament*. To shew that this was easie, he gave some reasons. But the Duke abhorred to heare of that counsell as pernicious & dangerous. Sir *Henry Percy* at that time offered to the Bishop of *Ross* his helpe to free the *Scots* Queene, so that *Grange* and *Carr of Fernhurst* would receive her at the borders, and his brother the Earle of *Northumberland* might be delivered out of *Scotland*. But when hee was suspected for the inward familiarity which he had with *Burgely*, and deferred the matter a longer time, this counsell came to no effect. As did also that of *Powel of Samford*, one of the Gentlemen Pencionaries, and of *Owen*, one that belonged to the Earle of *Arundel*. These two undertooke the same businesse also for the *Scots* Queenes deliverance, but the Bishop of *Ross* stayd that, because he tooke them for men of a meaner ranke, then to be fit for that busines. After the Duke was the second time

time imprisoned, many were for this matter imprisoned also. The Earles of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas* his brother, *Sir Henry Percie*, *Banister*, *Lowler*, *Godier*, *Powel*, and others were committed, who in hope of pardon told that they knew.

*Barnes* & *Mathers* joyned with *Herle* in a bloudy practice to deliver the Duke, and kill certaine of the Privy Councillers. But *Herle* being the chiefe in the villany, opened the project. When *Barnes* was brought before him, & found *Herle* to be the accuser, he smiling upon him, said, *Herle, thou hast prevented me; if thou hadst stayd but one houre longer, I should then have stood in thy place the accuser, and thou in my place to bee hanged.*

When *Iohn Duke of Austria* came into the government of the *Low-Countries*, hee found the States strong. The crueltie that the Duke *D'Alva* and others had vsed, was so far from bringing them into a servile subjection, that it rather armed them with resolution to defend their liberties, their lawes, their religion, & their lives. Which may admonish great Princes to use moderation in government: for much hath beene lost by crueltie, nothing gotten by it; but nothing can serve to moderate restless spirits; such a spirit brought *Don Iohn* with him into the *Low-Countries*, who beholding the vnlucky ends of them that strove to deliver the *Queene of Scots*, hee notwithstanding sought to worke her deliverance, and to marry her, and so to enjoy both *England* and *Scotland*. But to hide his purpose the better, hee made shew of a perpetuall

An. Dom. 1572.

An. Dom. 1576.



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An. Dom. 1576.

Edict for peace, as he called it: & for that purpose sent *Gastellus* to *Elizabeth*. Who thoroughly vnderstanding the *Dukes* meaning, yet as if she had been ignorant, sent *Daniel Rogers* to *Don Iohn*, to congratulate for his perpetuall Edict of peace. Albeit she certainly knew, that he had resolved to deliver and marry the *Scots Queene*, and in his conceit had devoured the kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, by the perswasion of the Earle of *Westmerland*, and of other fugitives, and by favour and countenance of the *Pope* and the *Gnises*. And that *Don Iohn* had a purpose out of hand to surprize the *Ile of Man* in the *Irish* seas, that he might have a fitter opportunitie to invade *England* out of *Ireland*, and the North coast of *Scotland*, where the *Scots Queene* had many at her devotion, and the opposite parts of *England*, as *Cumberland*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Northwales*, had many that, as he was informed, favoured Popery.

The trueth is, *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (as it was knowne from *Peregrinus*, Secretarie to the King of *Spaine*) being before this carryed away with ambition, when hee was disappoynted of the hope which hee had of the Kingdome of *Tunis*, practised secretly with the *Pope* for the overthrow of *Queene Elizabeth*, marrying of the *Scots Queene*, and subduing *England*. That the *Pope* might excite the King of *Spaine* to warre against *England*, as out of a desire to the publicke good. *Don Iohn* before hee came out of *Spaine* to goe to the *Netherlands*, did forward this motion in *Spaine* what hee could, and afterward sending *Escovedus* out of the

the Netherlands to Spaine, did desire to have the Havens in Biscay, whence a Navie might invade England. But King Philip (happily reserving England as a morsell for his owne mouth) neglected Don Iohn as a man too ambitious. Queene Elizabeth understood not these things, untill the Prince of Orange opened them to her. Don Iohn in the meane time prosecuteth the matter of the marriage with secrecie. And to dissemble the matter, sent messengers to Queene Elizabeth, to hold her with a tale of perpetuall peace; but of a sudden brake out into warre, and tooke divers Townes and Castles by sleight and trechery, and wrote to Spaine, that the best course is to take Zeeland, before the more inner Provinces: and being prone to believe that which he desired, hee wrote that England might be had with greater ease then Zeeland, and hee laboured by Escovedado to perswade the Spanish King. But the Queene seeing all tend to warre in the Netherlands, entered a league with the States for mutuall helpe, and sent Thomas Wilkes into Spaine, to complaine of the headie courses of the Duke of Austria. And in the meane time prepared for warre. But behold, when Don Iohn was in the height of his pride and ambition, in the flower of his age, in the midst of businesse and preparations, hee dyed on a sudden, as some thought of the Plague. Some thought that upon griefe, that hee was not so respected of the King his brother, hee ended his foolish ambition with his life, after that he had imbraced in his ambitious desire the Kingdome of Tunis; whereupon

An. Dom. 1577.

He died Anno  
Dom. 1578.

*Guleta* was lost in *Africa*, and after that the Kingdome of *England*: and had confirmed a league with the *Guissians*, without the knowledge of the *French* and *Spanish* Kings, for defence of both Crownes. Thus was the enemy disappointed; the Queene, the Land, the Church preserved; And have we not cause to remember these Workes of God, & to give God the glory of his owne worke, that is, of delivering his Church? *England* was as a Stage, whercupon divers entred to play their parts, one after another. The part that they playd was alwayes treason; some was kept further off by Gods providence, to do lesse harme; some brought the danger neerer home. But God taking the protection of his Church in *England*, none prevailed. And could any other power, but the power and protection of God preserve a land from so many, so deadly dangers? Let all mouthes be stopped, and let this continuall course of deliverance bee acknowledged the Worke of God.

## CHAP. IV.

Stucley his attempt and practice with the Pope and Spanyard, for the subduing of Ireland and England with Italian Souldiers, by Gods providence annulled.



Stucley encouraged by Pope and King of Spayne rayseth rebellion



THE next man that came vpon this Stage, was *Thomas Stucley*, but the malice that he and the Pope by his employment intended against *England*, was turned cleane another way by Gods providence.

*Thomas Stucley* an *English* man borne, when hee had spent his estate in ryot, prodigalitie, and base meanes, went into *Ireland*, Ann. 1570. And gaping for

for the Stewardship of *Wexford*, and missing the same, began to utter contumelious words against the best deserving Prince, but he was contemned as one that could doe no hurt. From *Ireland* hee went into *Italie* to *Pius V.* Popes. It is a thing incredible what fauour he got with the old Pope, that breathed nothing but the destruction of *Elizabeth Stucley* with magnificent ostentation, (as he was a man singular in ostentation) made the Pope believe, that with three thousand *Italians*, he would drive the *English* out of *Ireland*, and burne the *Queenes* Navie. And indeed these things he most wickedly attempted afterward, but to his owne destruction.

An. Dom. 1572

*Pius V.* having procured all the troubles that possibly he could against *Queene Elizabeth*, seemed to die for spite that he could not hurt her. After him succeeded *Gregorie 13.* This Pope had secret consultations with the King of *Spaine*, for the invading of *Ireland* and *England* both together. Meaning under the maske of Religion, to serve their own ambitious ends. The Popes end was to make his sonne *Iames Boncompagno*, whom he had lately made Marquesse of *Vineola*, now King of *Ireland*. The *Spaniards* end was, secretly to helpe the Rebels of *Ireland*, as *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, and in faire words entertaine a shew of friendship on both sides. The King of *Spaine* had a farther reach, even to get the Kingdome of *England* by the Popes authoritie, that from thence hee might with more ease tame the *Dutch* that were confederate against him. This he found hard for him to doe,

doe, unlesse he were Lord of the Seas, which hee saw he could not be, unlesse he had *England*. And there was no doubt but as he owed the kingdomes of *Naples, Sicily, Navarre* to the beneficence of the Pope, so with all his heart he would have held *England* by the like favour.

They knowing, that the greatest strength of *England* stood in the Navie of the *Queenes* ships, and Merchants ships, which were also built and framed for the use of warre, thought that the best way to lessen the Navie, was to let on the Merchants of *Italie, and Neatherlands*, to hyre many of the Merchants ships, seeking divers severall pretences, and having hired them, to send them unto the farthest Navigations, that whilst these are absent, the *Queenes* Navie might bee overthrowne with a greater Navy: and then at the same instant *Thomas Stucley* the *English* fugitive, might joine his forces with the rebels of *Ireland*. *Stucley*, a bareworne deceiver, did no lesse coulsen this next succeeding Pope, then he had done his predecessour, with admirable bragges. He promised the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Popes bastard sonne, and got such favour with the old ambitious Pope, that hee honoured him with the Titles of *Marquesse of Lagen, Earle of Wexford, and Caterloghe, Vicount of Morough, and Baron of Ross*. These bee famous places in *Ireland*. And made him Generall of *DCCC. Italian* souldiers, the King of *Spaine* paying their stipends, and so sent him into the *Irish* warre. *Stucley* came with these to *Portugale*, to the mouth of *Tagus*, purposing to subdue *Ireland*.

Gregor. 13.

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But the purpose of God was otherwise. And that which the Pope and *Spanyard* had with such deliberation projected, was by the counsell of God dissipated and brought to nothing. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, to whom the chiefe conduct of the forces against *England* was committed; (for this Prince, puffed vp with a heat of youth and ambition, had long before offered all his power to the Pope, to be employed against *Mahometanes* and *Protestants*) was then intised and drawne by many great promises of *Mahomet* sonne of *Abdalla* King of *Fess*, unto the *African* warre. *Sebastian* being thus drawn from the *English* Warres another way, dealt with *Stucley*, hat first of all hee would carry his *Italian* Souldiers into *Mauritania*; *Stucley* finding the *Spanish* King not against this project, (for the *Spanyard* disdained that the Popes bastard should bee King of *Ireland*) went with *Sebastian* into *Mauritania*, and was killed in that memorable battell, wherein three Kings, *Sebastian*, *Mahomet*, and *Abdal Melech* were all slaine. And so *Stucley* had too honourable an end of a dishonourable life.

An.Dom. 1578

By the death of *Sebastian*, the *Spanyard* was cleane drawne away from thinking of the *English* Invasion for a time, and set all his forces upon the Invasion of *Portugall*. If this occasion had not drawne away the *Spanyard*, a great tempest of Warre should haue fallen upon *England*, (if any credit may bee given to the *English* fugitives) for they declared that those huge Armies, which the *Spanyard* had provided against *England* out of *Italy*,



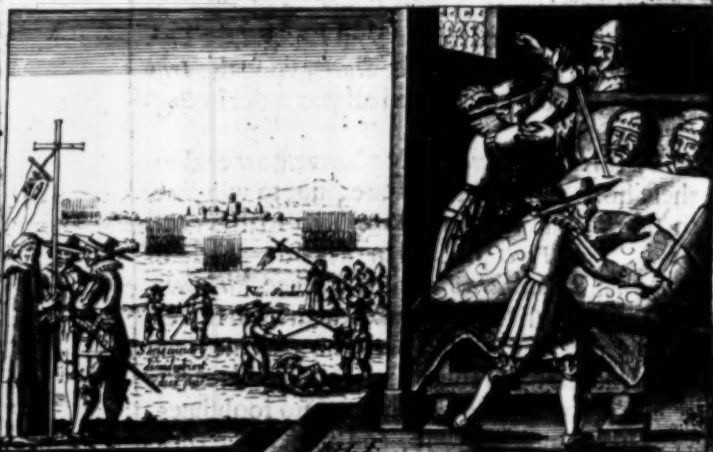
*Italy*, were now all to be employed upon the subduing of *Portugal*: neither would hee be by any meanes perswaded then, to thinke of the English Invasiō, albeit the English fugitives did much urge him, and the Pope promised a *Cruciata* in this war, as in the holy Warre was used. The King of *Spaine* was so wholly defixed vpon *Portugal*, that nothing could remove him from that resolution. Now when it was knowne that *Stucley*, and all his *Italians* in *Mauritania* were slaine, and that the *Spaniard* thought of nothing but *Portugal*, the English Navie, that watched for *Stucley* vpon the *Irish* Seas, was called home, and all was quiet in *England* and *Ireland*.

By this *Pageant* wee may observe how zealous these holy Fathers of *Rome* are, not to win soules to *Christ*, but to winne Kingdomes to their *Bastards*. Two Popes proceed in the same course of malice and malediction against Queene *Elizabeth*, and one English fugitive makes them both fooles. But our part is to remember who governeth the world, and turneth the wise and politike counsels of all the enemies of his Church into foolishnes. Wee give God the praise, and remember these things for no other end, but to give the glory to him.

## CHAP. V.

Nich: Sanders setteth on the Rebels in *Ireland*, animateth them in their bloodie practices, getteth a consecrated Banner from the Pope for them. San-

Iosephus, with 700 Italians and Spaniards sent from the Pope and the King of Spaine, over into Ireland to helpe the rebels, yeeldeth the fort. The Earle Desmond, a great maintainer of this rebellion, killed by a common Souldier in his wandering. Sanders, the firebrand of the rebellion falleth mad, and dieth miserably of famine. Observations hereupon. The Explication of that place, 2 Thes. 2. 10. applied to the Papists in respect both of their doctrines and doings.



Desmonds treason, & bloody practise approved.

**I**N the next place comes up Nicholas Sanders, that in the defence of the Roman visible Monarchy Ecclesiasticall had written. But finding that hee could doe no good by writing, hee falleth now unto another course; to be the firebrand of a Rebel.

Rebellion in Ireland. *James Fitz Morice* being pardoned for a former rebellion, withdrew himselfe into *France*, promising the *French King*, that if he would send help, he would joyne all *Ireland* to the *French Scepter*, and restore the *Romane Religion* in the Isle. But being wearied with delayes, and finding himselfe derided, from *France* hee went to *Spaine*, and promised the same to the *Spaniard*. Who sent him to the *Pope*. From the *Pope* at the earnest sute of *Nicholas Sanders*, an English Priest, and one *Alan* an Irish Priest, he obtained a little money. And to *Sanders* authority Legatine was granted, hee got forsooth a consecrated Banner, & Letters of commendation to the *Spaniard*, and so returned into *Spaine*. From *Spaine* he came into *Ireland* with those Priests, three shippes, and a small company of souldiers. He landed at *Smerwicke* in *Kirria*, a *Chersones* in *Ireland*, about the first of *Iuly*, Ann. 1579. Where, when the place was first orderly consecrated, he raised a fort, and withdrew his shippes. Which shippes were presently surprised, and carryed away by *Thomas Courtney* an English Gentleman, who with a warre ship stayed by chance in a neere haven, and so excluded the *Spaniards* from the benefit of the Sea. *John Desmond* and *James*, brethren to the Earle of *Desmond*, speedily joyne themselves to their cousin *Fitz Morice*. The Earle himselfe, who heartily favoured the cause, counterfeiting the contrary, called his men together, in shew to resist them, but craftily caused the Earle of *Clanricket* to withdraw himselfe, who was coming

An Dom. 1579

to helpe him against the Rebels.

The Lord *Deputie* understanding by certaine Messengers, that the enemies were landed, sent *Henry Davil*, an English Gentleman, a man of valour, and who had good acquaintance with the *Desmonds*, to the Earle of *Desmond* and to his brethren, commanding them presently to set upon the Fort, which the enemies had raised. But that they refused to do, as a thing full of dangers. And as *Davil* returned, *John Desmond* followeth him; and overtaketh him at *Trally* in an Inne. And in the night time, having corrupted the host, came into his chamber, with some other cut-throats, having drawn swords in their hands; where *Davilus* slept in securitie with *Arthur Carter*, an olde Souldier, a man of worth, *Deputie* governour of *Monmouth*. But being awaked with the tumult, when hee saw *John Desmond* with a naked sword rushing towards him, What is the matter, my sonne, quoth he, (for so hee was wont familiarly to call him :) Nay, said *Desmond*, I am no more thy sonne, nor thou my father; for thou shalt die. And presently thrust him and *Carter*, which lay with him, through with many wounds, and killed them both. *Davilus* his foot-boy defended his Master with his naked body, receiving many wounds to save his Master if hee could. Then he killed all *Davils* servants, which lay scattered in divers places. And returning to the *Spaniards* all imbrued in blood, hee gloried of the slaughter which he had made. *Let this*, said he, be a pledge of my faith to you, and to the cause. Doctor *Sanders* commended this action, as a sweet sacrifice

fice before God. *James Fitz Morice* blamed the manner of the slaughter, hee would haue had it rather in the way, then in their bed. The Earle, when he heard of it, utterly detested it.

When the *Spaniards* saw but a few *Irish* ioync themselves with them, and they poore and unarmed; farre otherwise then *Fitz Morice* had promised, they began to distrust, to cry out they were undone, to bewaile their fortunes, seeing all wayes was shut vp so, that they saw no meanes to escape by Sea or Land. *Fitz Morice* exhorts them to expect with patience awhile; he told them great forces were comming to helpe them. And himselfe tooke a journey to the holy crosse of *Tippararia*, pretending to performe a Vow which he made in *Spaine*; but in truth to gather together the seditious of *Conach* and *Vlster*.

Whilst he was thus in journey with a few horse, and twelue foot, as he passed by the land of *William á Burg* his kinsman, and taking some horses from the Plough, because his horses tired: the husbandmen made Hue and cry, and raised the neighbourhood to recover the horses. Amongst those that went to recover the horses, were the sonnes of *William á Burg*, forward young men, who pursued them so sharply, that they overtook them. *Fitz Morice* seeing *Theobald á Burg*, and his brethren, who had indeed in a former rebellion taken part with *Fitz Morice*: Cousins, quoth he, *'tis vs not strive for two or three paltry jades. I doubt not, but if you knew the cause why I am returned into Ireland, you would joyne your selues with mee.* *Theobald* answered,

It repentieth mee, my Father, and all our friends of our last rebellion. But now wee have sworne our fealtie to our most gracious Princeesse, who hath granted to us our lives, and wee will keepe our faith and allegiance: and therefore restore the horses, or I will make thee restore them. And withall, hee ranne upon him with his Speare. They fought a while together. Theobaldus and another of his brethren, with some other were slaine. Fitz Morice also himselfe being run through with a Speare, and his head shot through with a bullet, was slaine with divers of his men. Queene Elizabeth hearing of this chance, wrote Letters full of sorrow and love to William a Burg, comforting him for the death of his sonnes. She honored him with the title of Barow of Conel Castle, and rewarded him with a yeerely Pension. The old man being over-joyed with such unexpected favours, died not long after.

Sir William Drury then Lord Deputy, came neere to Kilmalock, and sent for the Earle of Desmond: who comming to him, promised his faith & allegiance to his Prince, and sware that himselfe and his men should fight against the rebels. Whereupon he was dismissed to gather his companies, and to returne to the Lord Deputy. John Desmond the Earles brother, who was by the rebells put in the place of Fitz Morice, lying in ambush, did intrap Herbers & Prife, with the bands which they led, and killed them, himselfe being hurt in the face. Some supplies came out of England, and Perrot was sent with six war-ships to defend the coast: the Lord Deputy grew so sicke, that he was forced to withdraw

draw to *Waterford* for his healths sake; and appointed *Nicholas Malbey*, Governour of *Connacht*, a famous and approved Souldier, to follow the wars. And worthy *Sir William Drury* soone after dyed. *Malbey* sent to the Earle of *Desmond*, and often admonished him of his duty & promise: and seeing it not good to linger in such a busines, he brought his forces into *Conil*, a woody country, against the rebels. There was *John Desmond*, who, in battell array and with the Popes consecrated Banner displayed, received the forces of *Malbey*. It was sharply fought on both sides. But the vertue of the *English* prevailed; *John Desmond* fled first away, and left his men to the slaughter. Among them was found *Alan* the Irish Priest, who exhorting them to the battell had promised them the victory. *Malbey* by a messenger sent for the Earle to come and his forces with him: and when he in vaine expected him foure dayes, hee came to *Rekel*, a towne of *Desmond*. Heere the Earle began to shew himselfe plainly for the rebels, after that he had a long time used dissimulation in his words and countenance. The same night the rebels set upon *Malbey* his tents in the darke, but finding them well fortified, they went away and did no harme. After the death of *Sir William Drury*, *William Pelham* was sent Lord chiefe Iustice into *Ireland*, with the authority of a Deputy, until a Deputy should be sent; & the Earle of *Ormond* was made governour of *Munster*, who sent *Desmonds* sonne (which he had with him as a pledge) to be kept at *Dublin*. *Pelham*, chiefe Iustice cometh to *Munster*, sends for *Desmond*; but he send-

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ding letters by his wife excuseth himselfe. Whereupon the Earle of *Ormond* was sent to him, to admonish him to deliver into the hands of the Lord chiefe Iustice, *Sanders* the Priest, the forraine souldiers, and the Castles of *Carigofail*, & *Asketen*, and to submit himselfe absolutely, & turne his forces against his brother and the other rebells. Which thing if he would doe, he might obtaine pardon of his rebellion, otherwise hee was to be declared a traitor and enemy to his Country. Whilst he held off with *delays* and *delusions*, hee was declared a traytor in the beginning of *December*, *Ann. 1579*. That he had dealt with forraine Princes for invading and subverting his Country: That he had retained *Sanders* and *six Morice*, rebells: That he had helped the *Spaniards* after they were gone out of the Fort at *Smerwick*: That hee had hanged the *Queenes* faithfull subjects; had advanced the Banner of the *Pope* against the *Queene*; that hee had brought strangers into the Kingdome. After this proclamation, the chiefe Iustice appointed the wars against *Desmond* to be prosecuted by the Earle of *Ormond*. The Earle of *Ormond* with his forces destroyed *Canilo*, the onely refuge which the rebells had; hee drave away their Cattell, and gave them a prey to be divided among his souldiers. He hanged the Bailife of *Toughall* before his doore, because he had refused to take a band of English into the Towne. And then began to besiege the *Spaniards* in *Strangical*; but they, fearing such a thing, had conveyed themselves out of danger. Yet the *English* followed them, and killed them all. And e-

very



very way through *Munster* pressed the rebels most sharply. *Desmond* & his brethren were so hard driven, hiding themselves in their lurking holes, that they wrote to the *chiefe Iustice*, signifying that they had taken vpon them the patronage of the *Catholike* faith in *Ireland*, and prayed him to take part with them. This shewed their cause was desperate, they had no hope, unlesse hee that was come purposely against them would helpe them. The *chiefe Iustice* laughing pleasantly at the motion, went to *Munster*, and called the Nobles to him, and kept them, neither would dismisse them, until they had given pledges; and promised their helpe against the rebels to joyne with him and the Earle of *Ormond*. They therupon dividing their bands, sought out the rebels. They forced the Baron of *Lixnaw* to yeeld himselfe: they besieged *Carigofail* Castle, which *Iulius* an Italian with a few *Spaniards* maintained, and breaking the walls by the force of great Ordnance, they entred, and killed or hanged all that kept the place with *Iulius* also.

At this time came *Arthur* Lord Grey Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, An. 1580. Soone after his coming, about seven hundred *Italians* and *Spaniards* sent from the Pope and King of *Spaine*, under the government of *San-Iosephus*, an *Italian*, came into *Ireland*, under the pretence of restoring the *Romane* religion, but the purpose was to divert the *Queenes* forces, & call her from other cares to *Ireland* only. They tooke land without any trouble at *Smerwick* in *Kirria*; for *Winter*, that had a good while stayed in that coast with shippes, wayting for them, was

An. Dom. 1580.

now returned to *England*, thinking they would not come in winter. They made the place strong, and called it *Fort del or*. But as soone as they heard that the Earle of *Ormond* was comming towards them, by the perswasion of the Irish they left the Fort, and betooke themselves into the valley *Glamingel*, which was compassed about with high mountaines and woods. The Earle took some of them, who being questioned of their number and purpose, they confessed that 700 were come; that so much armour is brought that may serve 5000, that moe are daily expected out of *Spainne*, that the Pope and King of *Spainne* are resolyed to drive the *English* out of *Ireland*; that for that end they have sent a huge summe of money, which they haue delivered into the hands of *Sanders* the Popes Nuntio, of the Earle of *Desmond*, and *Iohn* his brother. That night the *Italians* and *Spaniards* were much to seeke, not knowing what way to turne themselves, not knowing to hide themselves, as the Irish doe, in dens and bogs, and therefore in the darke they went backe to their Fort, neere to which the Earle of *Ormond* had pitched: but being unprovided of Ordnance, and other things needfull for oppugnation, hee stayed for the comming of the Lord Deputie. Who soone after came, accompanied with *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Dennie*, *Macworth*, *Achin*, and other Captaines. At that time came *Winter* out of *England* with warre-ships, much blamed for withdrawing himselfe when there was need of his service.

The Lord Deputy sent a Trumpetter to the Fort

to

to demand what they were, what businesse they had in *Ireland*? Who sent them? Why they had fortified a place in the *Queenes Kingdome*? And withall to command them presently to depart. Their answer was, that of them some were sent from the most holy Father the *Pope of Rome*, some from the *Catholike King of Spaine*, to whom the *Pope* had given *Ireland*, for as much as *Queene Elizabeth* had lost her right in *Ireland* by reason of heretic. And therefore that which they had taken they would hold, & get more if they could. When the *Lord Deputy* and *Winterset* consulted of the manner of the siege, they brought some *Calverings* out of the shippes in the darke of the night; and digging through the banke, they drew them the nearest way, and placed them. The *Souldiers* also mounted their great Ordnance against the wall, and did beat upon the fort continually foure daies together. The *Spaniards* once or twice made sallies out, but still to their losse. Of the *English* none was killed, saving onely *John Cheke*, a goodly yong man and valiant, the sonne of that learned Knight *Sir John Cheke*.

*San-Iosephus*, who was governour within the Fort, a weake man, and terrified with the daily shot, began quickly to thinke of yeelding. And when as *Hercules Pisanus* and other Captaines dissuaded him earnestly from that, as a thing unworthy of military men, urging that al should prepare for a defence, lest by their negligence they might withdraw the courage of the *Irish*, which were comming to helpe them. But hee, being a

man of singular cowardise, assayed the mindes of the souldiers, and wrought so, that the souldiers seditiously offered force to the other Captaines, that at last they consented to yeeld. Whereupon the fift day, when they saw no hope of helpe, neither from *Spaine* nor *Desmond*, they put out a white Flag, and demanded parley. Which thing was denied them, because they had joyted themselves with the rebels, with whom it was not lawfull to have any parley. Then they demanded that with bag and baggage they might depart, but neither was this granted. Then they intreated that this favour might bee granted: at least to the Governour and some few besides, but that, though they much besought it, could not be granted. But the *Lord Deputy*, inveighing against the *Pope*, commanded that without any condition they should simply yeeld themselves. And when they could obtaine no more, they put out their white flag againe, and cryed *misericordia, misericordia*. And so submitted themselves simply to the *Lord Deputy* his mercy. Who presently fell into cōsultation what were best to do. The adversaries were in number as many as the *English*, and danger was feared of the *Irish* rebels, who were more then 1500 at hand. The *English* wanted victuals and apparell, so that they were ready to make a tumult, unlesse they might bee relieved by the spoiles of the enemies out of the fort, & ships were wanting to carry away the enemies. At last they came to this conclusion, (The *Lord Deputy* being much vnwilling & weeping) that the Captaines should bee

preserved, the rest should be all slaine promiscuously in terrour of others that might attempt to hereafter. The Irish should bee hanged; which was presently executed. The *Queene* was not pleased at the manner of this execution, and wished it had been undone, hating cruelty, though necessary, against such as have once yeelded, and was hardly after drawne to admit any excuse of the slaughter committed. This was done *An. 1580.* Some three yeeres after the Earle of *Desmond*, of a noble house but of a barbarous nature, who barbarously had sworne, that *He would rather forsake God, then forsake his men*, wandring from place to place, was at last found of a common souldier in a poore Cottage. The Earle was in a poore estate unknowne, till the souldier had almost stricke off his arme. Then he descried himselfe, and was killed. *Nicholas Sanders* that had drawne the Earle into this rebellion, was at the same time spent with famine, and forsaken of all succour: and being impatiently grieved at the evill successe of this Rebellion, proceeding so much against his desires, seeing neither the Popes blessing, nor the consecrated Banner, nor the authoritie by the Pope committed to him could do him any helpe, he lost himselfe, and ranne starke mad, wandring up and downe in the mountaines and woods, and finding no comfort dyed miserably. When he was dead, there were found in his scrip some Orations and Epistles written to confirme the Rebels, filled with great promises of the *Pope* and *Spaniard*.

Thus Gods justice met with a restless & wretched

ed man, and that foule mouth was stopped up with famine, that was ever open to stirre up rebellions against the State, that had uttered so many blasphemies against God, and his holy truth, and invented so many strange lies against men. This man first of all men devised a notorious lie against the birth of the *Queenes* mother; which none of her enemies ever heard or knew, shee being in the hatred of so many *Papists*, that would not have spared to have spoken evill, yet was it never heard or knowne for fourtie yeeres after. And the account of the time doth prove it false, and himselfe like a forgetfull lier, doth plainly refute himselfe. This *Pageant* of the *Pope* and his Legat *Sanders* wee may not let passe without some observations, Seeing there is no way to exfariate their *crueltie*, wee pray that it may please God to remove their *cecitie* and obduration, if it bee his good pleasure, that they may once truely see themselves and their ungracious actions, whereof the sight is now taken from them by reason of their blindnesse. For we hold this to proceed rather from their blindnesse, then from a wilfull and obstinate striving against the knowne truth; but this wee warne them; to labour to know the truth, and to set their hearts to seeke it, lest they bee wrapped farther and farther into that great judgement, wherein, as yet, they are under his power which worketh with all power and signes and lying wonders, in all deservablenesse of unrighteousnesse, among them that perish, because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might bee saved. And there.

therefore God shall send them strong illusions, that they should beleue lyes, that all they might bee damned which beleevd not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousnesse. Two things are heere contained in these words, which jumpe with these Priests and Seminaries which the Pope sendeth forth; the doctrine which they teach, and the actions which they practise. Their doctrines which they teach are lyes. The Apostle warned us they should beleue lyes; this is a just judgement upon such as love not the truth: Their usuall practise is unrighteousnesse. What greater lyes can be invented then to say, that *Whatsoever the Pope will allow for a Tradition of his Church, that is the Word of God.* A lye with a witnesse, and withall a blasphemy against the most High. What greater unrighteousnesse, then to give away other mens possessions to strangers, that have no right to them; to dispossesse Kings; to give Kingdomes which is none of yours to give; to kill, to murder; to massacre, to doe any act of unrighteousnesse at the commandement of the Pope or any Superior: These I am sure are the practises of unrighteousnesse; would to God these men would once looke backe upon themselves and their owne actions, and consider what a difference is betweene the ancient Bishops of Rome, and these of late; betweene godly Divines, and the Popes Clergie. The ancient Bishops did never draw the sword to propagate the faith; the Apostles left no such example to them, but by their labours in Preaching, and their patience in suffering they gathered a Church, and established the Faith; but behold,

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how



how unrighteousnesse and villany is now come in place ! An ungracious bloody wretch kils a man in his bed, a man that was his friend ; such a thing chancing in the Warres may bee borne with, but in bed to murder his friend, is an extraordinarie signe of barbarous crueltie : And yet, that *Sanders* the Popes Legate should pronounce this thing to be a sweet sacrifice to God, this passeth all imagination. Can any either practise these things, or commend these practices, but onely such men as the Apostle describeth, that are given up to beleeve lyes, and to worke unrighteousnesse ? If any man shall answer mee heere with that old worne Cuckow Song, that these things are not understood by them to bee *unrighteous* which the Pope commandeth, that they do these things in obedience to Christ his Vicar. I answer, they that would make such an answer, are either such as are men *of conscience*, or altogether *without conscience*. If they be men *without conscience*, I have nothing to say to such, but wish them better then they doe to themselves, that they had some feeling of conscience. If these men have any sparke *of conscience*, then I would intreat them seriously to consider what is that which the Apostle, in the place before cited, calleth the deceivableness of unrighteousnesse. For this word sheweth that there is some plaine and *downe-right unrighteousnesse*, and also some *deceivableness of unrighteousnesse*. What is that *deceivableness of unrighteousnesse* ? Surely there is something herein for them to studie, that are so readie at the Popes command to doe varighteous things;



things; and make not Gods Word, but the Popes word to be the rule to know what is righteous, what unrighteous. When the law of God, the law of nature, the law of nations, the law of our land; when I say, all lawes forbid a thing, and onely the Pope commands it, & commands it against all lawes; then if a man obey the Pope in such things, he is deceived, and he doth unrighteously. *Here is the deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse.* But you must understand, that these men are thus deceived by him whose commanding is by the working of Satan, with all power, and signes, and lying wonders, and in all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnes in them that perish, because they receive not the love of the truth. Let men that have any care to save their soules, learne to love the truth; the truth will deliver them. And let them observe that maintaining of false doctrines, and of unrighteous actions, are things joyned together, one followeth the other. Now because we see false doctrines or lyes maintained by Papists, and unrighteous and ungracious actions by them ordinarily attempted; therefore we hold them undoubtedly to be the servants of Antichrist, who are given up to beleeve lyes, because they love not the truth. But for our selves, wee know that the Scriptures are the Word of God: We beleeve the Scriptures: we trust in God: we worship him as himselfe hath revealed and commanded: If our enemies wrong us, we haue recourse to God by prayer; we have found by continuall experience, that God taketh the protection of them that thus trust in him: We have trusted in him, we have found his protection:

We rest in patience, and commit the vengeance to God, Is there any man in the world that knoweth any thing of religion, that can deny that we are in a good state, and our enemies in a desperate state? we have comfort, but they can have none. *Consider this you that forget God, lest he plucke you up, and there be none to deliver you.* Now, which is our chiefe end in these collections, for our deliverance we blesse the name of God; and we doe acknowledge with all humilitie and thanksgiving, that all our deliverances come from the undeserved love and favour of our most gracious God and Father. And wee find our selves most strictly obliged unto this dutie, because wee see God hath made our enemies his enemies: they cannot fight against us, but they must fight against God; how much then are wee bound to honour and serve this great God of heaven and earth, that hath shewed such favour to his Church in England?

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

*The institution of the Colledges of Seminary Priests to be the incendiaries of England; difference from the foundation of ancient Colledges. The seates of Father Parsons and Edm. Campian and others to draw the allegiance of the English from their Queene. This drew upon them severall Lawes, established in Parliament against Papists, and approved by the parallel example of the Lawes made against the Donatists in S. Augustines time.*



**T** this time, Ann. 1580. the Seminary Priests and Iesuites increasing in England, necessary lawes were provided against them. These in truth were maintained

by the adversaries of *England* as a *Seminary* of rebellion; for so still they proved. Their first foundation was at *Doway* in the *Low-countries*, where by the procuring of *William Alan*, an *Oxford* man, afterward *Cardinall*, there was a Colledge provided for them, in the yeere 1568: where fugitive Priests were brought vp, not so much in Religion, as in new and strange practices of treason. The Pope assigned them a yeerely stipend. Thus they stood for some yeeres. But when the *Low-Countries* began to be troubled with warres, *Requesimus*, who was governour there under the *Spanish* King, did thrust out all *English* fugitives out of the *Low-countries*. Whereupon they that were willing to make use of such instruments to trouble *England*, thought good to give entertainment to them. And therefore two Colledges were set up for the *English* fugitives, the one at *Rhemes* by the *Guises*, another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* 13. From these Colledges they were sent into *England*, under pretence of Religion, but indeed to withdraw subjects from obedience to their Prince, & to draw the land unto the subjection of strangers. They called themselves *Seminaries*, because they were to sowe the seed of the *Romane Religion* in *England*; And what is that seed of *Roman Religion*, but the seed of *Rebellion*? Certainly so it hath ever proved. These men to shew their zeale to their new Founders, and their hatred to their Countrey, disputed and defined the *Popes* authoritie by Gods law to have the plenitude of power over the whole world in all things Ecclesiasticall & Politicall: out of which plenitude

plenitude he might excommunicate Kings, and after Excommunication, depose them from their thrones, and absolve their subjects from all oathes of allegiance. Thus was the *Bul of Pius*, published *An. 1569*. From whence rose the rebellion in the North of *England*, and those rebellions of *Ireland*, of which wee have spoken. *Hanse, Nelson, Main, Sherwood*, Priests, then taught that *Queene Elizabeth* was a schismaticke and an heretike; and therefore worthily to be deposed; for which they suffered deservedly; but still others were sent into their places; and though they came in upon desperate points, as souldiers upon a breach, yet others followed as desperate as the first: And would not vnderstand that they ventured both soule and body in the cause of the *Pope* against *Christ*; for such is the cause of treason being commanded by the *Pope*, and forbidden by *Christ*.

The *Priests* and *Iesuites* at this time spent all their learning and skill to stirre up rebellion in *England*, giving out in corners, & in publike printing Bookes, to declare that the *Pope* and King of *Spaine* had conspired, that *England* should bee overthrowne and left as a prey. This was done of purpose to confirme their owne side, and to deterre others from their obedience to their Prince. Whereupon the *Queene* set out a Proclamation, signifying that she had never made attempt upon any Prince, onely defended her owne, not invading the Provinces of other Princes, though shee had beene provoked with wrongs, and invited by opportunitie. If any Princes should oppugne her,

*An. Dom. 1580*

her, shee doubted not but by Gods favour shee should defend her owne, & had therefore mustered her forces by Land and Sea, and was ready against any hostile incursion. She exhorteth her faithfull subjects to hold their faith and allegiance firme to God, and to their Prince, Gods Minister. For others that had shaken off the love of their Countrey, and obedience to their Prince; She commandeth them to carry themselves modestly, and not to provoke the severitie of justice; for shee would no longer endure sparing of evill men, lest so shee might be cruell against the good.

Among the *Iesuites* that came then into *England*, *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian* were chiefe; they had procured a temper or qualification of the Bull of *Pius V.* obtained of *Greg. 13.* in these words: *Let petition bee made to our holy Father, that the Bull declaratory of Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents be interpreted: which the Catholikes desire to bee understood so, that it bind her and heretikes awayne, but not Catholikes, things standing as they doe; But onely then when the publike execution of the Bull may be had.* These foresaid favours the Pope granted to *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian*, now readie to goe into *England* the 13. day of *Aprill*, 1580. in the presence of *Oliver Manarcus* assisting. This was procured to give some content to the Recusants that were offended at the publication of the Bull, and found that it did them more harme then good. *Parsons* and *Campian* came secretly into *England*, and changed their exterior habit and apparell, that they might the better

ter passe unknowne. Sometimes they went like *russians*, sometimes like *ministers*, sometimes like *noble men*, sometimes like *souldiers*, sometimes like *apparitions*; they walked secretly from Recusants houses to Recusants houses, and did in words and Writings roundly set forward the businesse for which they came. *Parsons* was the superior, a man of a seditious and turbulent spirit, armed with audaciousnes, he brake out so farre among the *Papists* against the *Queene*, as to propose the project of deposing of her. In so much, that some *Papists* themselves (as they themselves have said) did thinke to have delivered him into the hands of the Magistrate. *Campion* was somewhat more modest, yet by a Booke which he had much laboured and brought with him, which, as himselfe saith, might bee taken with him, if he were apprehended, did provoke the Ministers of the Church of *England* to disputation, the Booke was intituled, *A booke of ten Reasons* or Arguments, written politely in Latine to confirme the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. *Parsons* wrote more virulently against Mr *Charke*, who had written soberly against *Campions* Provocation: but *Campions ten Reasons* were thoroughly and solidly answered by Dr *Whitaker*. *Campion* was taken, and brought to disputation, where it was found, that in learning and knowledge hee came farre short of that expectation which himselfe had raised of himselfe; the whole Disputation was afterward set foorth in Print. In the meane time many threatnings were published against the Church and State



of England, and much speech was of the Pope and the Spaniards preparations to subdue England.

By which manner of proceedings, it may appeare, that the end why these and other such were sent into England, was not to draw men to God, but to betray the Land to strangers, for these men cared not what became of England, so the Church of England might be displanted, and Popery set up againe. For which purpose wee may observe the Colledges for *Seminaries* set up at *Rhemes* and *Rome*. These Colledges did strangely swerve from the end and foundation of the ancient Colledges. The ancient Colledges were founded for learning and Religion; these for meere faction: the ancient Colledges were for the furtherance of godlinesse, and pietie, these for the practices of ungodlinesse, and ungracious treasons. Let no man tell me that the ancient Colledges were founded by *Papists*; and so were these *Seminaries*, and therefore for the maintenance of the same Religion: for this is nothing but colouring and daubing of their new practices from the sight of the ignorant; for all their hope is in the ignorance of men, hoping that they shall have the greatest part, because the greatest part are ignorant. But now God in his mercie hath so plentifully revealed the truth; the ignorance of men is not so great as the *Papists* would haue it; for men are taught to know, that in the *Councell of Trent*, there hath been had a new birth of *Popery*. Where they have changed the Rule of Faith, which was ever maintained in the Church of *Rome* before that time. Whereupon there



there followeth a change of the *Church*, a change of *Religion*. They that founded the ancient Colledges, knew not this *new Church*, this *new Religion*, which is *newly* hatched in the *Trent Councell*. Therefore these late Colledges of *Seminaries* are founded upon a *new Religion*. This new Religion of *Rome* is nothing but the practice of Treasons against States. Surely it must be a strange Religion that must be maintained by ungodly practises. There was never any Religion that allowed such practises. And herein the *Papists* exceed the *Heathen*, who, being guided onely by the light of Nature, yet have disallowed such ungodly and ungracious practices which the *Papists* use. Let all men consider whence this *new Religion* of *Rome* proceedeth, that in ungodly practices is founded and maintained; that all such practices proceed from the devill, no man can doubt: that God hath preserved this *Church* of *England* from all these practises, this is that which causeth us to trust in God, and to give all the glory of our deliverance to his holy Name.

*Edmund Campian*, *Rafe Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, *Alexander Briant* were taken in the yeere 1581. and being brought to judgement, were accused of Treason against the *Queene* and *State*; that they were directed by the *Pope*, came into *England*, to stirre up sedition, and to make a strong partie; and heereupon they were condemned as offending against the Lawes. *Campian* was demanded whether hee tooke *Queene Elizabeth* to bee *Queene* of *England* by right and law? To that he refused to answer.

answer. Then he was demanded, if the *Pope* should send an Armie into *England* against the *Queene*, whether hee would take the *Popes* part, or the *Queenes*? To this hee protested openly, that hee would take the *Popes* part, and confirmed it by his hand-writing; he was put to death, and some others for the same cause. When as yet from the time of the Rebellion there was but five put to death in this cause. The *Queene*, thinking that mens consciences should not be forced, did often complaine, that shee was necessarily driven to these courtes, unlesse she would suffer a mischiefe to fall vpon her selfe and her subjects by them that sought to colour their treasons under a pretence of conscience and *Catholike* Religion. And yet she thought that some of the poore *Priests*, that were sent, were not acquainted with the secret plots of treason; but found that their superiors used these as instruments of their wicked intentions; and they yeelded the whole disposing of themselves to the judgement of their superiors. For they that were then & afterward apprehended, being demanded, whether by the authoritie of the Bull of *Pius V.* the subjects were so absolved from their oath and allegiance, that they might take Armes against the Prince? Whether they held her for a lawfull *Queene*? Whether they yeelded their consent to the opinions of *Sanders* and *Brisslow* concerning the authoritie of that Bull? Whether, if the *Pope* should warre against the *Queene*, they would take his part or hers? To these things they answered, some so ambiguously, some so fiercely, some by  
preva.

prevarication or by silence shifting; that diuers other *Papists*, who were not acquainted with the secrets of their villanies, began to suspect that surely they nourished some secret mischief; and *Iohn Bishop*, otherwisemuch addicted to their Religion, wrote and soundly proved that the Constitution obtruded in the name of the *Councell of Lateran*, from which they founded all their authoritie to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and to depose Princes, was indeed nothing but a decree of *Innocentius III.* nor was ever admitted in *England*. Yea, that Councell was no Councell, and that nothing was decreed there by the Fathers.

Suspitions were still increased, by reason of the number of *Priests* daily comming into *England*, and creeping in corners, who secretly sought out the mindes of men, and taught that Princes excommunicated were to bee throwne out of their Kingdomes; that Princes that professed not the *Roman* Religion, were fallen from the title and kingly authority; that they who had taken orders, were by the liberty of the Church freed from all jurisdiction of princes; neither were bound to their Lawes, or bound to reverence their Majestie; that the Magistrates of *England* were not lawfull, and therefore not to be accounted as Magistrates. Yea and moreover, that what things soever had bin established by the *Queenes* authority, after the publishing of the Bull of *Pius* the fift, were void altogether by Gods law, and mans law, and to be respected as things of no account. Neither did they

dissemble their purpose, that they were come into England for this end, that this Bull might be effected, & that they might in private confessions reconcile men, and so absolve them from all faith and allegiance toward the *Queene*. This thing seemed to be more easily effected, when men were absolved from all mortall sinne, as the *Priests* perswaded them, and this way was the safest, because the most secret, and under the scale of Confession.

These practices extorted of the *Parliament* held then in *January, An. 1582.* new lawes and more severe against these *Popish* practises. By which lawes it was made treason to dissuade any subject from their allegiance to their Prince, and from the Religion which was then established in England; or to reconcile any to the *Romish Church*, the same punishment was to bee inflicted upon them which were so perswaded or reconciled. To say Masse, was punished with two hundred marks, and a yeeres imprisonment, and to bee farther punished untill they had payed. To be present at Masse willingly, was punished with an hundred markes fine; and a yeeres imprisonment: They that refused to come to their Parish Churches, were to pay twenty pound a moneth.

This manner of punishing refractory men, that in matters touching the Church were troublesome and seditious, was taken from an ancient manner of punishing such men in the time of *S<sup>t</sup>. Augustine*, for he speaketh divers times of the *Pecuniary maled* of the Emperors, which was inflicted upon the *Donatists*. And because the *Seminary Priests* and *Iesuites*,

suites, who have bin punished, not for Religion, but  
 for Treasons, in the execution of civill Iustices, for  
 offending against the Lawes of the Land, have  
 giuen out that they have bene persecuted for  
 Religion, and some of them have been made Mar-  
 tyrs: (these bee a new kinde of Martyrs, not for  
 Christs cause, but for the Papes cause against Christ,  
 and against his Word and Commandement.)  
 It shall not bee amisse to observe the state of the  
 Church in S<sup>t</sup> Augustines time, and the judgement of  
 the Church then, which in divers resemblances  
 doth answer to our times, for then the Emperour  
 had that power and authority, which we now give  
 to our Kings. The Pope had no more authoritie  
 then, then we would yeeld him now, if he would  
 maintaine the Doctrine that the Pope then did.  
 The Pope was then under the Emperour, the Em-  
 perour punished both Pope & others, if they offen-  
 ded his lawes, *Paemenianus* a Donatist complained  
 they were punished by the Emperour, and perse-  
 cuted, and called their persecution Martyrdom,  
 as did the Papists that were punished. S<sup>t</sup> Augustine,  
 answering the Donatists, saith, *Si quis quis ab Impe-*  
*ratore, &c.* If every man that is punished by the  
 "Emperour, or by the Iudges which he sendeth,  
 "must presently be accounted a martyr, then shall  
 "we have all prisons full of Martyrs, &c. And after  
 "he saith: Therefore not every one that in some  
 "question of Religion is punished by the Empe-  
 "rour must presently be accounted a Martyr, for  
 "hee is justly punished for Superstition, which he  
 "thought to bee Religion. No man verily that in  
 any

Lib. 1. cap. 9.  
 contr. Epist.  
 Parmen.

Math. 5.

ibid. cap. 10.

Galat. 5. 19.

"any respect is a Christian dare avouch this; for  
 "such men, proceeding like blinde men, see not  
 "that they who thus think, proceed so farre, as to  
 "proove that the very devils may thus challenge  
 "to themselves the glory of Martyrs, because they  
 "suffer this persecution by the *Christian Emperors*,  
 "forasmuch as their temples are destroyed over all  
 "the world in a maner, their Idols are broken in  
 "pieces, their sacrifices are forbidden, they who  
 "honour them, are punished if they bee found.  
 "Which if it be madness to maintaine, then it fol-  
 "loweth, that *righteousnesse* is not proved by suf-  
 "fering, but by *righteousnesse*, suffering is made glo-  
 "rious: therefore the Lord said not, *Blessed are they*  
 "that suffer persecution, but hee addeth that which  
 "maketh the difference between pietie and sacri-  
 "ledge, *Blessed are they which suffer persecution for*  
 "*righteousnesse, &c.* And after hee saith: If these  
 "men, being convicted of their wicked practices,  
 "shall acknowledge, that they who are thus puni-  
 "shed for their mad tricks may not be accounted  
 "Martyrs, but yet they will say, that these things  
 "ought not to belong to the Emperour to pu-  
 "nish: (last as the Papists say, the punishment of their  
 "Clergie belongeth not to the Magistrate) I demand  
 "then, saith *Augustine*, whether they thinke that  
 "the superiour Powers ought not to have care  
 "of Religion, and of punishing false religion?  
 "The Apostle saith, *The works of the flesh are mani-*  
 "*fest; which are adultery, fornication, uncleannesse,*  
 "*wantonnesse, Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emu-*  
 "*lation, wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy,*

"murthers, drunkennesse, gluttonie, and such like.  
 "What reason can these men render, why it  
 "should bee justice for the Emperours to punish  
 "Idolaters, murtherers, and such, and not by the  
 "same reason to be like justice in them to punish  
 "Heretikes? When as they are accounted in the  
 "same fruits of iniquitie by the Apostolicall au-  
 "thority. If the Magistrate be not bound in dutie  
 "to punish such sinners, why doth he beare the  
 "Sword? and why is he called the Minister of God,  
 "for vengeance against them that doe evill? Vnlesse  
 "haply some of them bee so ignorant as to inter-  
 "pret this honour given to the Magistrate of ho-  
 "nour Ecclesiasticall, that by the Sword may bee  
 "understood a spirituall censure, which worketh  
 "excommunication: But the Apostle most provi-  
 "dently doth plainly open in the processe of the  
 "same words, what he meaneth: for hee addeth,  
 "for this cause you pay tribute: and in another place,  
 "Give to Caesar those things that are Caesars, and to  
 "God those things that are Gods. But these men are  
 "disobedient in both; for they neither giue to  
 "God his true worship, nor to Kings humane  
 "feare and reverence. Where further hee decla-  
 "reth, that against these Donatists, that held their  
 "Conventicles against the Lawes established, the  
 "Emperours mulct was exacted, and the place  
 "where such Conventicles were kept, was to be  
 "forfeited to the Emperours Exchequer. Thus  
 "saith Augustine.

Math. 22.

Cap. 12.

By this we see that the estate of the Church then  
 was much like the estate of the Church in these  
 times.

L



times. The reverend judgement of *S<sup>t</sup> Augustine* the same with the judgements of the *Bishops in England*. The unlawfull and ungracious practices of the *Donatists*, like the practices of the *Papists*, saying that the *Papists* have proceeded more deeply in wicked practices, and have gotten a greater head then the *Donatists* ever had. The Lawes of the civill Magistrate *then* and *now* much alike.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Priests seditious Books against the Queene brings on Somervils furious attempt to kill her. They move with the Ladies of Honor to doe it. The Queenes mildnes and wonderfull mercy towards this vermine. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, for practising against the Queene, is thrust out of England. Throgmortons confession, and condemnation for treason.*



*Somervils haste to Kill the Queene.*



**F**ter this, in the yeare 1583. the Priests and Iesuites wrote very seditiously dangerous Bookes against *Queene Elizabeth*, & some other Princes excommunicated. These Bookes being written with great bitterness, did prevaile so farre with some that admired the

*An. Dom. 1583.*

Popes power, that they drew them cleane from obedience of their Prince, so that, like men that had cast off the yoke, they entertained a hatred of her. Amongst other, one *Somervil*, a Gentleman, was so bewitched by them, that he secretly sought entrance to the *Queenes* presence, and breathing out nothing but blood against the Protestants, like a mad man he set upon one or two by the way with a drawne sword in his hand. And being apprehended, he confessed that his purpose was to have killed the *Queene*. (Did ever any of the *Donatists* or *Circumcellians* practice a more furious attempt, then this man?) For this he was brought to judgement, and, by his discovery, *Edward Arden* his father in law, a Gentleman of *Warwickshire*, and *Ardens* wife, and their daughter *Somervils* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were condemned as guiltie to *Somervils* practice. After three dayes *Somervil* was found strangled in the prison. (For feare be-like that he might have discovered more) *Arden* being condemned, was hanged the next day. This is the common end that Priests bring such Gentlemen unto, who are willing to heare them, and be perswaded by them.

*An. Dom. 1534.*

The next yeere after, (for seldome did any yeere passe without some treason) some English Gentlemen began to practice the deliverance of the *Queene of Scots*. *Francis Throgmorton* fell first into suspicion, by certaine Letters intercepted written to the *Queene of Scots*. As soone as he was committed to prison, and began to confesse something, presently *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*

*Arundel*, a Courtier, secretly fled the land, and went into *France*. These men meeting with other devoted to the *Romane* Religion, did much complain, recounting their sorrowes among themselves, that the *Queene* was estranged from them without their fault by the cunning of *Leicester* and *Walsingham*; that themselves were exposed to unworthy contumelies and ignominies; that singular trickes were found out, and secret snares laid so cunningly, that improvident men, will they, nill they, must needs be intangled in such snares; that to remaine at home there could be no safetie for them. It was thought at this time, that some cunning was practised to feele mens affections; and that counterfeited Letters were written under the name of the *Scots Queene*, and of some fugitives, knowne traytors to the State; which Letters might be left in the houses of Recusants, and that spies were sent abroad to gather rumours, and to catch suspitions. Divers were drawne into snares. Among others, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*; and *Philip Earle of Arundel* was commanded to keepe his house; his wife was committed to Sir *Thomas Shirley* to bee kept; and *Henry Howard* the Dukes brother was often examined of Letters sent from the *Scots Queene*, from *Charles Paget*, and from one *Mope*; then unknown. Some blamed the narrow searching of things, and the manner of drawing men into danger. Others thought that all the meanes that might be used to prevent the *Queenes* danger, and to save her life was but necessary. And indeed the outrageous maliciousnesse of

the *Papists* against the *Queene* brake out daily; for by Bookes imprinted they exhorted the *Queenes* maids and *Ladies of honour* to doe the same against the *Queene* which *Indith* did against *Holofernes*. The Author of that Booke was not found, *Gregorie Martin* was suspected, a man learned in the Greek and Latin tongues, and chosen by the Duke to be the bringer up of his children. *Carter* the Stationer, that caused the Bookes to be printed, was punished for it.

The *Queene*, that was much traduced for crueltie, knowing her owne mildnesse, and desirous to leave a good remembrance of her name behinde her, was much offended with the *Judges* of the *Papists* apprehended, if they passed any cruell sentences against them, which might be injurious to her honor. Infomuch that they were forced to excuse themselves by publike writings, wherein they protested, that the *Priests* were much more mildly used the they deserved: that no question of religion was moved to them, but onely of such pernicious machinations against their Countrey, against their Prince, whercof they were either found guilty, or, by the discovery of others, suspected. That *Campion* was never so racked, but that presently he was able to walke, or to subscribe to his confessions. But for *Briant*, who stubbornly denied to utter by speech or by writing, who was the man that wrote these secret things which were found about him; to this man meat was denied, untill by writing he would ask it. For all this the *Queen* was not satisfied, and therefore shee commanded the *Examiners*

miners to abstaine from tormenting men, and the Iudges from punishing. And shortly after, hee commanded seuentie Priests to be sent out of England, wherof some were condemned to die, all of them were intangled within the danger of the Lawes. The chiefe of these were *Gasper Haywood*, the son of *Haywood* the Epigrammatist, who of all the Iesuities first entred England, *James Bosgrave*, which was also a Iesuite, *John Hart*, the most learned among them, with whom *Dott. Reynolds* had conference, and *Ed. Rishton*, a wicked and ungratefull man who wrote a booke presently after, shewing forth the poyson of a cankered heart against the *Queene*, to whom he owed his life.

The Lord *Paget* and *Arundel*, who went into France, were narrowly observed there by *Edward Stafford*, the Ambassador Leiger there for *Queene Elizabeth*; but hee could not find out what they practised; yet he dealt with the French King, that *they, Morgan*, and some other English fugitives, who were knowne to be practisers against their Prince and their Country, might be thrust out of France. But it was answered, that if they practised any thing in France, the King would by law punish them; but if they had practised any thing in England, that of such things the King could take no notice, nor by law punish them: that all Kingdomes were free for fugitives: that it behooved Kings to maintaine their owne liberties: That *Elizabeth* not long before had admitted into her Kingdome *Montgomery*, the Prince of *Condé*, and others of the French nation, and that *Segneres* Ambassadour

bassadour of the King of *Navarre* was in *England* practising of some things that concerned the *French State*,



*The Spanish Ambassad. thrust out of England.*

In the meane time, *Bernardinus Mendoza* the King of *Spaine* his Ambassadour for *England*, stole secretly into *France*, fretting and fuming, that hee was thrust out of *England* by a violation of the right of an Ambassadour: when as indeed he was a man of a troublesome spirit, & had abused the reverend right of Ambassadors, by the practices of treason against this State wherein he was. He was commanded to depart out of the Realme, whereas many thought fit that hee should have been with some severity censured for violating the office of an Ambassadour. For he had practised with *Throg-*  
*morton*



*morton* and others to bring in strangers into *Eng-land*, to invade the land, and to remove the *Queene*. And being gently reprovved for these things, hee was so farre from offering to excuse these things with a modest answer, that he began to accuse the *Queene* and the *Councell* for the money taken from the Merchants of *Genua*, and for helping the *States* of the *Netherlands*, of the Count *Anjou*, of *Anthony* of *Portugall*, and charged them with the spoyles that *Sr Francis Drake* had taken from the *Spaniards* in the west *Indies*. But that the *Spaniard* might the better understand, that this which *Queene Elizabeth* had done in sending away *Mendoza*, was no violating of an Ambassadour, but a censure of *Mendoza* his wicked practices, *Sir William Wade* was sent to *Spaine*, who might plainly informe the King, how unworthily he had behaved himselfe in his ambassage; and might also signifie, that the *Queene* would not have this sending away of him to be interpreted a renunciation of friendship, but that she would maintaine all offices of humanitie, if hee would send any other that were carefull to conserve friendship betweene them, so that the like offices were performed to her Ambassador in *Spaine*. The *Spanish* King would not admit *Wade* to his presence, but referred him to his Councell: *Wade* hereupon declared boldly, that the custome was received among Nations, that even in burning warre, Ambassadours were admitted into presence of their enemies, and that *Charles the fifth*, Emperour, Father to the King of *Spaine*, admitted into his presence an Herald, who denounced to

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him

him wars from the *French King*, & denied to communicate the Instructions of his Ambassage to his Councillers. *Idiacius* the Kings Secretarie could by no cunning fish out of *Wade* what were his Instructions, untill he understood the whole matter from *Mendoza* then lurking in *France*. Then the Secretarie laying aside his publike person, did familiarly declare to *S<sup>r</sup> William Wade* that he was sorry that some men did labor craftily to dissolve friendship among Princes, and to nourish hatred betweene them; The injurie that was done, was not done to the Ambassadors, but to the *Catholike King*; that there was no cause for him to accuse *Mendoza* to the King, who was sufficiently punished with an ignominious extrusion out of *England* for the fault, if there were any, which he committed. Neither might he complaine if he were not admitted; for the *Catholike King* did nothing herein but quit like with like, seeing *Mendoza* was dismissed from the *Queene*, unheard. And as shee referred *Mendoza* to her Councel; so the King had referred him to the Cardinall *Granvillars*. *Wade* answered, there was great difference in their cases; for himselfe hee had never offended the *Catholike King*; but *Mendoza* had grievously offended against the *Queene*, and for a long time through his owne insolencie disdained to come, and had committed many things unworthy the office of an Ambassador. Yet he could not be admitted, but returned unheard. The crimes that he would have objected against *Mendoza*, were taken out of the confession of *Throgmorton*. For *Francis Throgmorton*, when he

was

was apprehended, sent privily one packet of Letters to *Mendoza*.

His other packets being sought & opened, there were two Catalogues found; In the one of them were the names of all the *havens* of *England* that were for forces to land in: In the other were contained the names of the *Noble-men*, which here and there throughout *England* favoured the *Roman* Religion. These papers when *Throgmorton* saw produced, hee cryed out that they were counterfeited, that hee had never seene them before, that they were devised for his destruction. But when he was againe brought to the racke, he denied not to answer what hee knew to the questions proposed. Being therefore demanded of those *Catalogues*, to what purpose they had been written, he made this narration; that not many yeeres since hee went to the *Spaw water*, where, with *Teney* and *Fr: Inglefield*, he had counsell and communication how *England* might be taken by strangers, and the forme of the government changed. For that purpose he described the names of the havens, and of *Noble-men*; that *Morgan* had certified him by Letters out of *France*, that the *Catholike Princes* were resolved to invade *England*; that the *Queene of Scots* should bee set at libertie by the forces of the *Guises*. To this project there was nothing wanting but money, and the helpe that was expected out of *England*. To effect this the better, *Charles Paget* under the name of *Mope*, was secretly sent into *Sussex*, where the *Guise* purposed to take land: that he had communicated the matter to *Mendoza*,

*Throgmorton.*  
*As. Dom. 1; 84.*

and told him the names of the Noble men, who knew all these things before fully of the conspiratours: Neither denyed hee that himselfe had promised his helpe to *Mendoza*, and withall that hee admonished *Mendoza* of those Nobles that were fit for him being a publike person to deale withall, which himselfe being a private man could not doe without danger. And that he had taken order with him, & concluded of the meanes to be used, namely, that the chiefe *Catholikes*, as soone as ever the forraine forces drew neere, should muster souldiers in the *Queenes* name, who should joyne themselves with the forraine forces. Thus much he confessed willingly.

Yet when hee came to judgement in the *Guild Hall* at *London*, he denied all, and said that all these were fained devices to save him from the racke, and openly accused the *Queene* of *cruchie*, the *Examiners* of *falsehood*; seeking a starting hole from the space of time which passed betweene the time of the committing his crime, and the time of his judgement; for in the *XIII.* of *Elizabeth* certaine crimes are made treason, for which no man should be called in question, unlesse the delinquent were accused within six moneths after the crime committed, and the crime were proved by witnessse and oath of two, or by the partie his owne free confession. Now hee pleaded that this time was past, and therfore that he was not to be called into judgement. But the Iudges answered, and shewed that the crimes objected against him, were of another kind; for hee had offended against an  
old

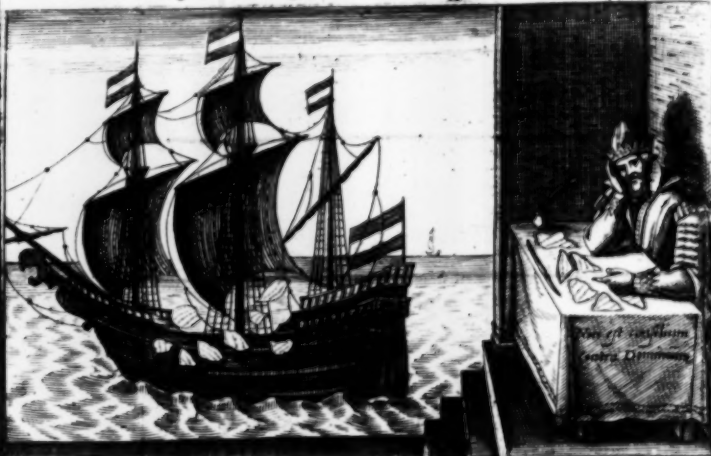
old law of treason made in the time of *Edward 3.*  
which admitteth no circumscription of time or  
prooffe. And from that law hee was condemned.  
Afterward being perswaded and better thinking  
on the matter, he craved the *Queenes* mercie, and  
by writing confessed all at full againe, which hee  
had done before: and as a man unconstant, began  
to deny againe at the gallowes.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

*New practises of our enemies discovered, not without a miracle by Creightons torne papers. The mischievous but unsuccessfull conclusion of Alan, Inglefield, and Rofs against Queene Elizabeth and King James. Parries treason opened: his confession, and execution. Lawes in Parliament enacted against Priests and Recufants. Philip Howards intention to leave the Land discovered before it could be effected.*



*Torne Papers bloume into the Ship.*

*F.H. sc.*



QUEENE ELIZABETH at this time sought a faire opportunitie and meanes to set the *Queene* of Scots free: and for that purpose had sent Sir William Wade, that was now returned out of Spaine, to con-

conferre with her of the meanes, and was about to send *S<sup>r</sup> Walter Mildmay* to bring that matter to a farther end. But some terrors and feares broke in between them which disturbed that project. Especially by a discovery of papers, which *Creighton* a *Scots* Iesuite sailing into *Scotland*, did teare then when hee was taken by *Dutch* Pyrats. *Creighton* tore the papers, and threw them into the Sea; but they were by the force of the wind blowne back againe into the ship, not without a miracle, as *Creighton* himselfe laid; the papers being brought to *Sir William Wade*, with much labour and singular skill hee joyned them together againe; and found that they contained new practises of the *Pope*, the *Spaniard*, the *Guises* resolution to invade *England*.

Whereupon, and because many other rumors of dangers were increased; to the end that the wicked and treasonable practises, might be in time prevented, and the *Queenes* life and safetie might be procured, upon whose safety both the estate of the *Kingdome*, and of *Religion* depended: A great number throughout all *England*, of all sorts of men out of common charitie, whilest they shewed their love and care of the *Queene*, bound themselves by an *Association*, (as then it was called) by their mutual promises, subscriptions of their hands and seales, to prosecute all such by all their force even to death, whosoever should attempt any thing against the life of the *Queene*. The Earle of *Leicester* was supposed to bee the authour of this association. Surely it was usefull, and held many  
in



in order. The *Queene of Scots* tooke this as devised to bring her into danger, and was so continually set on by seditious spirits, that if they may have accessse, are able to draw the greatest Princes to destruction. And what hath been their Practise, but to bring great personages, and great houses to ruine? Lamentable experience sheweth openly the fruit of their malice and wicked plots for *treason*, which they call *religion*. The *Scots Queene* led on by her blind guides dealt somewhat rashly, but with importunity to the *Pope* and *Spanyard* by *S<sup>r</sup> Francis Inglefield*, that by all meanes they would with speed undertake their intended businesse. There were some also that laboured to draw *Queene Elizabeths* affections altogether from the *Scots Queene*; They told her that *Cardinall Alan* for the *English Catholikes Ecclesiasticall*, *Inglefield* for the *Laicks*, and for the *Queene of Scots*, the *Bishop of Ros* had undertaken, and were among themselves agreed, and with the consent also of the *Pope* and *Spanyard*, had fully resolved upon these poynts: That *Queene Elizabeth* should be deprived of her *Kingdome*; the *King of Scots* as a manifest favourer of heresie, should utterly be disinherited of the *Kingdome of England*; that the *Scots Queene* shall marry some *Noble-man* of *England*, which is a *Catholike*; that this man must bee chosen *King of England* by the *Catholikes of England*; that the choyce so made, must bee confirmed by the *Pope*; that the children of him so chosen begotten of the *Scots Queene* must bee declared *Successors* in the *Kingdome*. All these things were confirmed to bee true by testimony

mony of *Hart* the Priest. Who was this noble English man, that should marry the Scots *Queene*, was now much inquired after. Sir *Francis Walsingham* sought it out with all diligence, yet found it not out. There was suspicion of *Henry Howard*, brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was noble by birth, unmarried, and a favourer of that Religion, and in great grace and favour with them.

These things that were discovered by *Throgmorton*, by *Creighions* papers, and other meanes, were matters which bred suspicions and feares, though they were never so effected as they were intended. But wee finde by these things, that *France* and *Spaine*, and the strength of the *Pope* were here all combined against *Queene Elizabeth* and *King Iames*, for no other cause, but for their Religion; because both *Queene Elizabeth* and *King Iames* had established the same religion. Against which Religion all the great powers of the world were combined, and were therefore ready with their utmost inducements to root out these two Princes from *England* and *Scotland*. If a man shall consider the Councells, the Policies, the strength of these great powers, which were set against these two Princes, it is a matter to be wondered at, how they should stand against so deepe & desperate dangers. Here I wish that a Papist of any understanding would take this matter into his consideration. And looke but a little further to the end and event of things. What man purposed, What God wrought. What became of these two Princes, *Queene Elizabeth*, and *King Iames*, against whom the world

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thus

thus conspired? *Queene Elizabeth* after so many malicious projects against her by open warres, by secret conspiracies, yet lived to see all the malicious practises against her *defeated and overthrowne*, the practisers themselves *ruinated*, her people and Kingdome *defended*, Gods truth *maintained*, her service for the truth *rewarded*; and after all, dyed quietly in her bed, and hath left a blessed memory behind her. King *James* that was in the same cause with her, in the same manner threatned for his Religion, to be made incapable of the inheritance of *England*, and then neither could he have holden *Scotland*, for hee must either have all his right, or lose all; for there is no middle way in the inheritance of Kings; yet after all these threatned dangers by the great powers of the world, after a number of dangerous and devillish practises against him at home, he hath not only quietly possessed that which hee had, but is in the peaceable possession of *England*, with such love, such gladnes of heart and common rejoycing, that the like hath not been known in former times. And which was never done by any before, though much wished, and attempted, He hath in his royall person knit *England* and *Scotland* together; He hath not onely maintained the truth of Religion by his authority as all Christian Princes are bound to doe; but also by his *wisedome*, by his *learning* confirmed the truth, drawne many to the knowledge of it by his learned Labours. Wherein he hath not only farre exceeded all his Progenitours in this Kingdome, but hath left all the Kings and Emperours in the world

world farre behind him in this honor; so that since the beginning of the time of *Grace* to this day, the world never saw a King so furnished and inabled to maintaine the *truth*, and to discover the blindness and superstition of *false Religion*. And therefore hath God blessed him with extraordinary blessings; the love of his subjects, the peaceable estate of *Ireland*, which before his time was never governed in peace, especially the fruit of Religion, and the reward of Religion maintained is the greatest blessing that Kings can looke for. This hath been, and is the state of these religious Princes; so that men shall say, *Doubtlesse there is a reward for the righteous; verely there is a God that judgeth the earth.* And because my purpose in writing this Booke, is to declare the great Workes of God in the defence of this Church of *England*, since Religion planted here by Queene *Elizabeth*; and to give God all the glory both of the planting and maintaining thereof: Wee therefore remember these things with great gladnesse and joy of heart to Gods glory, giving thanks to his holy Name for the favours that hee hath exhibited to his Church here by the faithfull service of these two royall servants of God, in whom is truly verified that which the Prophet *Esay* foretold, speaking of Gods favour to his Church: *Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queenes shall be thy Nurses.* In these things we can lift vp our hearts to God, and give him the glory and thanks for all his goodnesse. But can our adversaries doe the like, whose practices against these noble Princes were wicked and

Psal 111.

malicious, and by God confounded? Let men see and confesse the hand of God in maintaining them that maintaine his truth, and dishonouring them that dishonour him.



*Parry not able to Kill the Queene.*

*An. Dom. 1585*

The next yeere, that is, *Ann. 1585.* there was a *Parliament* held, wherein there was in the lower House a law proposed against *Jesuites*: Which was judged needfull & accepted of all without contradiction, saving onely *William Parry*, a Welshman, obscure, of meane fortunes, yet a Doctor of the Civill Law; He spake against that law which then was exhibited, and said it was a cruell bloody law, and desperate, and pernicious to the English Nation: Being required to shew his reasons for that strange opinion of his, he obstinately refused so to doe,

doe, unlesse it were before the *Queenes* Councell: Whereupon hee was committed to prison. But after his reasons were heard, and his submission made, he was againe admitted into the assembly. Presently after, he was accused by *Edward Nevil*, (who chalenged the inheritance of the *Nevils*, and the Title of the *Lord Latimer*, as next heyre male.) *Edward Nevil* charged him for practising the *Queenes* death.

This *Parry* some two yeres before returning out of *Italy*, to the end that he might win favour and credit with the *Queene*, declared secrely to her what *Morgan* and other fugitives had practised to her destruction. Making semblance to the *Queene*, that he was conversant with them for no other end but only to search out their secret purposes, that so he might the better be a meanes to provide for the *Queenes* safetic. Whereupon the *Queene* did not easily give credit to *Nevil* the accuser. Yet she commanded *Sr Francis Walsingham* to take *Parry*, whether he had not dealt with some person discontented and suspected of that matter, onely to trie the man. Which thing being demanded, he utterly denied. The foole saw not, that by this meanes the *Queenes* lenitie opened a way for him to escape the danger; for surely if he had signified, that only for to trie the man he dealt with *Nevil*, whom he knew to be a man discontented & suspected, as he had foretold the *Queene*, he might have avoyded the danger; but they who in their heart once have given intertainment to wickednesse and treason, though otherwise they bee of wit and sharpe un-

derstanding are made blind, by a just judgment of God. Now when as *Nevil* had no witnes against *Parry*, there was no great difference betweene *Parry* his word and *his*. But *Parry*, after some sharpe words had passed betweene them, was imprisoned in the Tower, where he freely cōfessed thus much:  
 “ In the yeere 1570 (*said hee*) I was admitted a  
 “ sworne servant to the Queene, I remained devoted to her Majesty till the yeere 1580. At which  
 “ time I fel into great danger of my life, with great  
 “ ignominy, (for he had broken into the chamber  
 “ of *Hugh Hare*, in whose debt he was, and wounded him, whereupon being condemned by law,  
 “ his life was saved by the *Queenes* pardon) after  
 “ that, I lived much vexed in minde, and getting  
 “ leave to travell, I went into *France*, and had no  
 “ purpose to returne, because I had given my selfe  
 “ to the *Catholike* Religion. At *Paris* I was reconciled;  
 “ at *Venice* I had communication with *Benedict Palmius* a Iesuit, touching the afflicted *Catholikes*  
 “ in *England*, and I signified that I had found  
 “ out a way to helpe them, if the Pope, or some  
 “ learned Divines would avouch it to be a lawfull  
 “ course. He commended this thing as pious: He  
 “ commended me to *Campegius* the Popes *Nuntio*  
 “ at *Venice*, and *Campegius* to the Pope. I moved  
 “ that I might come to *Rome* with safetie. Whereupon  
 “ Letters of publike credence were sent to me by the  
 “ Cardinall of *Come*: but these were not large enough,  
 “ and therefore other more large were sent. But then was I returned into *France*.  
 “ Where meeting with *Morgan*, he signified, that there



“there was an expectation, that I should performe  
“some speciall service to God, and to the *Catho-  
“like Church*. I answered, that I was most ready to  
“kill, if it were the greatest subject of *England*. O  
“but (said he) and why not the *Queene* her selfe; I  
“said that this also might be easily done, so that it  
“might appeare to be lawfull. For *Watt* a Priest,   
“whose advice I asked in this matter, suppressing  
“the names, told mee plainly, that it was not law-  
“full, (and *Creighton* the Iesuite is of the same o-  
“pinion, teaching that *evill must not bee done, that  
“good may come*: that God is more delighted with  
“adverbes then *nounes*, and the thing that is done  
“well & lawfully, pleaseth him better then a thing  
“good: and that by the destruction of one, many  
“soules are not to be redeemed, without an ex-  
“presse commandement of God.) Yet for all this,  
“seeing I had in *Italy* bound my selfe by letters &  
“promise, I could not go back, if the *Pope* did ap-  
“prove it, & would grant me a *plenary Indulgence*.  
“Which I requested in my letters to the *Pope* by  
“*Ragazzonius* the *Popes Nuntio* in *France*. Who cō-  
“mended the enterprise, & sent my letters to *Rome*.  
“Being returned into *England*, I gat accessse to the  
“*Queene*. And all being remooved, I opened the  
“whole cōspiracy, yet hiding many things with as  
“great art as possibly I could. She heard it undaun-  
“ted, unterrified. I departed daunted & terrified.  
“Neither can I forget that which she said, that no  
“*Catholikes* were to be brought into question for  
“Religion or for the *Popes* supremacy, so that they  
“carry themselves as good subjects. In this time  
whil

“ whilst I staid daily in Court, seeking to be preferred with the Mastership of *S<sup>t</sup> Katharines*, I  
“ receiued Letters from the Cardinall of *Come*,  
“ wherein the attempt was commended, and I was  
“ absolved in the *Popes* name. These Letters I  
“ shewed the *Queene*; how they did worke with  
“ her I know not: but with me they wrought so  
“ farre, that they set a new courage in me to attempt the enterprise, and tooke all scruple out  
“ of my minde; yet it was not my minde to offer  
“ any force, if by any reason shee might be persuaded to deale more gently with *Catholikes*.  
“ And to the end I should not commit slaughter,  
“ alwaies when I had access to her I laid aside my  
“ dagger. So oft as I considered her & her princely  
“ vertues, I was distracted by an ambiguous care,  
“ for my vowes were in heaven, my Letters and  
“ promises with men. And to my selfe I revolved  
“ these things in my mind. Shee never deserved  
“ well of me. It is true shee pardoned my life; but  
“ for such a cause to take away my life, were tyrannicall. Thus not content with my state, I departed from Court, and I light upon Doctor *Alans*  
“ Booke, written against the Iustice of *England*.  
“ Who teacheth that Princes being excommunicate for heresie, are to be despoiled of their kingdoms and lives: that Booke did very sharply  
“ stirre me up to finish mine attempt; I read this  
“ Booke to *Nevil*, whom I entertained at my  
“ Table; and this was done full sixe moneths before he accused me. After this hee came to me,  
“ And let us dare, said he, to doe something, seeing  
of

“ of the *Queene* we can obtaine nothing. And he  
“ proposd some things of the delivery of the  
“ *Scots Queene*. I did here interpose; O but I have  
“ a greater matter in my head, & more profitable  
“ for the *Catholike Church*. The next day he came,  
“ & sware upon the Bible that he would keepe my  
“ counsell, & constantly prosecute whatsoever was  
“ usefull for the *Catholike Religion*. And I sware in  
“ like sort. Our determination was to set upon the  
“ *Queene* with ten horsemen as shee was riding in  
“ the fields, and so to kill her. Which thing *Nevil*  
“ concealed all this while. But when the newes  
“ came, that the Earle of *Westmerland* was dead,  
“ whose inheritance he hoped to haue presently,  
“ not respecting his oath, hee opened these things  
“ against me. These things *Parry* confessed in the  
“ presence of the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hat-*  
“ *ton*, and *S<sup>r</sup> Francis Walsingham*, Privie Councillers;  
“ and farther by his letters to the *Queene*, to *Burghley*  
“ Lord Treasurer, and to the Earle of *Leicester*, hee  
“ acknowledged his fault, and craved pardon.

Some few dayes after he was brought to *West-*  
“ *minster Hall* to judgement, where the heads of his  
“ accusation being read, he confessed himselfe guil-  
“ ty. *S<sup>r</sup> Christopher Hatton*, to satisfie the multitude  
“ present, thought it fit that the crime should punctu-  
“ ally be opened out of his owne confession. Which  
“ *Parry* himselfe acknowledged to be free, not ex-  
“ torted; and the Iudges intreated that hee would  
“ reade them. But the Clarke of the Crowne read  
“ them: and the Letters of the Cardinall of *Come*,  
“ and *Parry* his Letters to the *Queene*, to the Lord

*Burghley*, and the Earle of *Leicester*, all which hee granted to be true. Yet hee denied that he was at any time resolved to kill the *Queene*. He was therefore commanded to speake, if he had any thing to say why judgement should not passe. Here he answered with perturbation, as one troubled with the conscience of the crime, *I see I must die, because I was not resolved*. And being desired to speake more plainly, if he would say any thing, *My blood*, said he, *be among you*. When sentence of death was pronounced against him, he ragingly cited the *Queene* to the tribunall seat of God. Being brought to the gallowes, hee bragged much that hee had been a faithfull keeper of the *Queene*, because he had not killed her. Thus like a glorious *Roman Catholike*, never once in one word commending himselfe to God, he died like a traytour in the Court before *Westminster Hall*, where the Lords and Commons were then assembled in Parliament.

In this Parliament some lawes were enacted for the *Queenes* safetie against the *Iesuites* and *Priests*, who attempted daily horrible treasons from the Bull of *Pius V.*

“ It was therfore enacted, that within forty daies  
“ they should all depart the Land. If any came in  
“ againe after that, and stayed heere, they should  
“ be guiltie of treason: that if any received them  
“ wittingly and willingly, or intertained them,  
“ nourished, or helped them, such should be guiltie  
“ of fellony: that they who are brought up in  
“ the *Seminaries*, if they returne not within fixe  
“ moneths after warning given, and should not  
submit

“submit themselves to the Queene, before a Bi-  
“shop or two Iustices of Peace, they should bee  
“guilty of treason. And they who had submitted,  
“if they should within ten yeares come to the  
“Court, or nearer then ten miles of the Court,  
“that then their submission should be void. They  
“who sent any money by any meanes to the Stu-  
“dents of the *Seminaries*, should be guiltie of Præ-  
“munire. If any of the Peeres of the Realme, that  
“is, Dukes, Marquessees, Earles, Viscounts, Barons  
“of the Parliament should offend against these  
“lawes, he should bee tryed by his Peeres. They  
“who know any *Iesuites* or *Priests* to lye lurking  
“in the Realme, and within twelve dayes doe not  
“detect them, shalbe fined at the *Queenes* pleasure,  
“and put in prison. If any be suspected to be one  
“of those *Iesuites* or *Priests*, and shall not submit  
“himselfe to examination, for his contempt hee  
“shalbe imprisoned untill he submit. He that shall  
“send any Christian, or any other to the *Semina-*  
“*ries* and *Colledges* of the Popish profession, shall  
“be fined an hundred pounds. They that are so  
“sent, shall not succeed in inheritance, nor enioy  
“any goods what way soever they may chance.  
“And so shall it bee to them that within a yeere  
“returne not from those *Seminaries*; unlesse they  
“conforme themselves to the Church of *Eng-*  
“*land*. If the keepers of havens permit any to passe  
“the Seas without the *Queenes* licence, or the li-  
“cence of fixe Councillers, except Mariners and  
“Merchants, they shall be remooved from their  
“places; the Ship-master that carries them shall

“lose the Ship and all the goods in her, and be imprisoned a whole yeere.

The severitie of these Lawes ( which were no lesse then necessary for such times, and such mischiefes) made the *Papists* in *England* asfeard, and among others, *Philip Howard* Earle of *Arundel*; in so much, as fearing lest hee might offend against those lawes, he purposed to leave his country. He had his blood restored by the *Queenes* favour three yeeres before. And after that being disfavoured by reason of secret suggestions of certaine great personages against him, he secretly gave himself to the *Papish* Religion, and made choyce of an austere life. Surely if good instructions might have beene admitted to him, he might have been easily and happily confirmed in the truth. Hee was once or twice called before the Councell table, and refuted the things objected to him. Yet was he commanded to keepe his house. Six moneths after he was set at liberty, & came to the *Parliament*; but the first day, whilst the Sermon was preached, he withdrew himself out of the company. The *Parliament* being ended, being as then resolved to depart, hee wrote to the *Queene* a long and mournfull complaint, which letters he commanded should be delivered after his departure: he complained of the envie of his potent adversaries, whereunto he was forced to yeeld; seeing they triumphed over his innocency. He recounted the unfortunate destinies of his ancestors, of his great grandfather condemned, his cause not being heard: of his grandfather, who for matters of small moment was beheaded;

and

and of his father, whom he affirmed to be circumvented by his adversaries, who yet never had an evill minde against his *Prince* nor *Countrey*. As for himselfe, lest he should succeed the heire of his fathers infelicitie, said he, to the end that he might serve God, and provide for the health of his soule, he had forsaken his country, but not his allegiance to his Prince. After these Letters were delivered, he went into *Sussex*; and having provided a ship in an obscure corner, and now being ready to take ship, hee was apprehended by the meanes of those whom he trusted, and by the Master of the ship discouered, and was sent into the Tower as a prisoner.

O 3

CHAP.



## CHAP. IX.

*The lamentable end of Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland in the Tower. A pretended title of the King of Spaine to the Crowne of England. Savage a barbarous fellow, upon the instigation of Rhemish Priests, voweth to kill Queen Elizabeth. Babingtons treasonable practice to take away the Queenes life, upon a motion from Ballard the Priest, defeated; and he with his complices deservedly punished.*



**T**hat time was *Henrie Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland* in the Tower, suspected to bee of counsell with *Throgmorton* and the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guises*, to invade *England*, and to free the *Scots Queene*. Hee was

was

was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets under his left pap; the chamber doore bolted on the inside. The *Crowners Enquest* found a dagge and gun-powder in the chamber, and examining the man that bought the dagge, and him that sold it, they found that the Earle had beene the cause of his owne death. Three dayes after, the Lōrds met in the *Starre-Chamber*. The Lōrd Chancellour *Broumley*, briefly declared, that the Earle had entred into treasonable counsels against his Prince and Countrey, which now when hee perceived that they were come to light, troubled in conscience for the thing, hath offered force to himselfe. And to satisfie the multitude then present, hee willed the *Queenes* Atturney Generall, and the rest of the *Queenes* Councell plainly to open the causes why hee was kept in prison, and the manner of his death. Whereupon *Popham* then *Atturney*, beginning from the Rebellion of the North sixteene yeeres before, hee declared, that for this Rebellion, and for a purpose to deliver the *Scots Queene* that hee was called into question, acknowledged his fault, submitted himselfe to the *Queenes* mercy, was fined five thousand markes; That the *Queene* of her clemencie tooke not of that fine so much as a farthing, and after his brothers death, confirmed him in the honour of the *Earledome*. Notwithstanding all this, he had entred into pernicious counsell to deliver the *Scots Queene*, to overthrow the *English Queene*, with the State and Religion: that *Mendoza* the Spanyard had told *Throgmorton*, that  
Charles

*Charles Paget* under the name of *Mope* had secretly dealt with him in *Sussex* of these things : that the *Lord Paget* had signified the same to *Throgmorton*, as appeared from *Creighton* the *Scots* Iesuites papers, And that *Charles Paget* had shewed the same things to *William Shelley*, when he returned out of *France*. After that *Egerton* the *Queenes Solicitor* inferred the same from circumstances, and a care of concealing the matter : That when as there was none in *England* that could accuse the Earle of this crime, except the *Lord Paget*; (with whom *Throgmorton* had familiaritie) hee had provided a ship for the *Lord Paget* by *Shelley*, a few dayes after *Throgmorton* was apprehended. So was the *Lord Paget* sent away into *France*. And when *Throgmorton* began to confesse some things, the Earle departed from *London* to *Petworth*, and sending for *Shelley*, told him that hee was in danger of his life and fortunes, he intreated him to keepe counsell, and to put away those that knew of the departure of the *Lord Paget*, and of the comming of *Charles Paget*. Which was presently done, and himselfe sent farre off that servant which he used to send to *Charles Paget*. The *Solicitour* addeth, that when he was in prison, hee dealt often with *Shelley*, the Keepers being corrupted, to vnderstand what those things were which hee had confessed : But when by a poore woman secretly sent betweene them, *Shelley* had signified, that he could keepe counsell no longer, that there was great difference betweene their two conditions, that he must come under the racke, which the Earle in respect of his place

place and order was freed from, and had written to him what he had confessed: The Earle thereupon sighed, and said, as *Pantim* his Chamberlaine hath confessed, that *Shelley* his confession had undone him. After, the manner of his death was declared by the testimonie of the Enquest, and by *Pantins* testimony. Many good men were very sorrowfull, that a man of such nobilitie, wisedome and valour was so lost.

My purpose is in this Narration, to observe the great and manifold deliverances of this Church. When I am drawn by the course of the History to open these practices, in which Noble men have been misled: this I confesse I relate with great commiseration; for seeing that *Noble houses* are the *honour* of the *King*, the *ornament* of the *Kingdome*, there is no man, that loveth the honor of his owne Countrey, that can write or speake of the fall of such men but with griefe and sorrow. Of such I will make no other observations, but onely the testification of mine owne sorrow. But yet here I must observe one thing for the good and instruction of their posteritie, or the like, that they may take heed of these pernicious instruments, *Priests*, *Iesuites*, and those that are infected yea and poysoned with the infection of them. These gracelesse Merchants have utterly undone many Noble persons, which without their restlesse suggestions and counsells, might and doublesse would have been great ornaments to their Countreies, both in peace and warres. Was there ever any Noble house in these times ruinated without the practice of these

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wicked miscreants? Let all the blood that hath been shed in this Land in the *Northern rebellion* and at other times be laid upon these wicked instruments of blood. And let the world consider the outrageous wickednesse of this generation, that having in former times sucked the blood of the Saints, as greedie Instruments of the *great Whore*, that is *drunke with the blood of the Saints*: now by a just, but strange judgement of God they are fallen into such practices, as shed their owne blood, & the blood of such as are mis-led by them. God is to be revered in all his judgements, and let not *men* strive against *God* to maintaine a cause which God will overthrow with all the maintainers thereof.

An. Dom. 1586

And it is not much to be marvelled, if these cunning stirrers have deceived some of our Nobles; for we see that they have censured great kings and princes. For soone after this in the yere 1586. these pernicious medlers, these *Iesuites* shewed themselves in other colours. For when these bloody instruments that had so long laboured the ruine of *England*, and were out of hope to restore the *Romish Religion* to *England*, either by the *Scots Queene*, which was now more strictly kept, or by the King then of *Scotland*, who had plainly professed and established the Gospel in his kingdome: they fell now to a new and a strange practice, which might make the world to wonder: they began out of their false and lying forgeries to set a foot an imaginary title of the King of *Spaine* to the right and Succession of the *English Crowne*.

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To this purpose, as *Pasquius* discovered, they sent into *England* one *Shamiers*, (if it be not a counterfeit name) a Iesuit, which might draw the discontented Nobles unto the *Spanish* side, and throw the *Scots* *Queene* headlong into dangers and despaire, signifying to her, that if she should bee troublesome to hinder their designs, that neither she nor her sonne should reigne here. And stirred vp new troubles in *France* to withdraw her counsels the *Gnises* from hindering their devices, by wrapping them in new garboiles against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*. In which the King of *Spain* had a hand, to set *France* in troubles, that he in the meane time might the better proceed in his intentions for *England*. These desperate courses drew the *Scots* *Queene* into more danger.

At this time a most desperate & pernicious conspiracy brake out; which, as by the free confessions of the Conspirators appeareth, was thus. Some *English* Divines of the *Rhemish Seminarie*, whilst they seemed to admire as men astonished or rather doting an omnipotency in the Pope, did labour to perswade themselves, that *Pius V.* his Bull against *Queene Elizabeth* was indited by the *Holy Ghost*; & that it was a thing meritorious to kill excommunicated Princes, yea, and that it was martyrdom to lose their lives in that quarrell. *Giffard*, a Doctor of Theologie, *Gilbert Giffard*, and *Hodgeson*, Priests, did so hammer these devices into the corrupt head of *John Savage*, (who they say was a *Bastard*) that hee being heady and bloody, (a fit instru-

ment for *Iesuites*) made a vow to kill *Queene Elizabeth*. At the same time they set out a Booke (for no other purpose, but with great cunning to draw the *Queene* and *Councell* into securitie, and to lay their ungracious plots more deeply, and so with more ease to come to that mischievous end they shot at.) In which Booke they admonish the *Papists* in *England*, that they practise no hurt to the *Queene*, for that they were onely to use such weapons as are lawfull for Christians to use, that is, *teares, spirituall armor, daily prayers, watchings, fastings* against their adversaries; this was their Fox-craft. And withall they spread a false rumour by their whisperers, that *George Giffard*, one of the *Queenes* Gentlemen *Pencionaries*, had sworne to kill the *Queene*, and for that cause had wiped the *Guise* of a great summe of money.

At Easter following, *John Ballard*, a Priest of the *Rhemish Seminary*, who had assayed the minds of many *Papists*, to whom hee travelled to conferre with through *England* and *Scotland*, was now returned into *England*. This man had dealt with *Bernardin Mendoza*, now the ordinary *Spanish* Ambasadour in *France*, and with *Charles Paget* for an invasion of *England*. Declaring that now was the fittest opportunitie for that service, whilst the Military men were absent, being then employed in the *Low-Countries*. A fitter time could never be hoped, for as much as the *Pope*, the *Spanyard*, the *Guise*, the Duke of *Parma* had resolved to invade *England*, to turne the Warres from the *Netherlands*. And albeit *Paget* had made it evident, that



as long as the *Queene* lived, the invasion of *England* would be in vaine; yet was *Ballard* sworne and sent into *England*, to procure all the helpe that might be to the conspiratours, and the libertie of the *Scots Queene*.

At Pentecost following, that *silken Priest* came into *England* in a *Souldiers habit*, with a feigned name, called *Captaine Foscoe*. This man had conference in *London* with *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Darbyshire*, young, rich, witty, and learned above the expectation of his yeeres, and being addicted to the *Romish Religion*, had a little before got into *France* without leave. Where hee had familiar conversation with *Thomas Morgan*, and with the Bishop of *Glasco*, the *Scots Queenes* Ambassadour. These men extolling the heroick vertues of the *Scots Queene*, made to him great ostentation of assured hopes of honour by her meanes to bee obtained. The ambitious young man was easily drawne to take hold of that faire glistering estate proposed by them. And they were as ready cunningly to set him forward; and before he had well thought of the matter, they commended him by Letters to the *Scots Queene*. For when he was returned into *England*, she saluted him favourably with her Letters; from that time *Morgan* used his helpe in sending Letters to her, untill she was committed to the custodie of *Amice Paulet*. For after that, the young man finding the danger, ceased. With this *Babington*, *Ballard* had conference of the things aforesaid. But he thought assuredly, so long as *Queene Elizabeth* lived, that the Invasion

of *England* would come to nothing. But when *Ballard* signified to him, that *Queene Elizabeth* would not long bee alive, (for *Savage* who had vowed to kill her, was now come into *England*;) *Babington* thought not good that so great a matter should bee committed to *Savage* onely, lest hee might be stopped from the enterprize. But rather to fixe valiant and resolute Gentlemen, in which number *Sauage* should be one, that he might not be condemned for not performing his vow. Whereupon *Babington* tooke a new course for the invasion, touching the Ports where the strangers might land, and the forces that should be ioyned with them, and the delivering the *Scots Queene*, and the Tragick slaughter of *Queene Elizabeth*, as hee called it.

Whilst he was fixed in these cogitations, hee received Letters by an unknowne boy, written from the *Queene of Scots* in that familiar character which was used betweene them. She blamed him, but mildly, for his long silence, & willed him to send her the Packet of Letters sent from *Morgan*, and delivered by the *French Ambassadors* Secretary. Which he did accordingly. And by the same messenger sent to her a Letter, wherein he excused his silence, for that he wanted opportunitie of sending, since that shee was in the custody of *Amice Paulet*, a *Puritan*, a meere *Leicestrian*, and a most bitter enemy of the *Catholike Faith*. He declared what hee had resolved with *Ballard*, that fixe Gentlemen were chosen to performe the tragicke slaughter, and that himselfe with an hundred

dred others would deliver her. He intreated that to these *Heroick Actors*, (so he called them) rewards might be proposed, or to their posteritie, if they should faile in the action. The twentieth of *July*, answer was made to these Letters. *Babington* his forward desire of promoting the *Catholike* Religion was commended. Hee was warned that it might be undertaken considerately and that nothing be moved before they were sure of external forces: that an association among them might be made, as if they feared the *Puritans*: that some trouble might be stirred in *Ireland*, whilst the stroke might be given here at home; that *Arundel* and his brethren, and *Northumberland* should be drawne to the side; *Westmerland*, *Paget*, and others might be secretly called home. The way to deliver her was also prescribed; either to overturne a Coach in the gate, or to set the Stables on fire, or to intercept her whilst shee rode to take the ayre betweene *Charly* and *Stafford*. Last of all, *Babington* was warranted to undertake for rewards, and to pawne his credit to the fixe Gentlemen and others.

Now had he gathered about him certaine Gentlemen inflamed with a fiery zeale of the *Romish Religion*. Of whom the chiefe were *Edward Windfore*, brother to the L: *Windfore*, a yong Gentleman of a soft disposition; *Thomas Salisbury* of a Knights house in *Denbigh-shire*; *Charles Tilney*, an ancient Gentleman, the onely hope of the Family, one of the Queenes *Pencionaries*, whom *Ballard* had reconciled to the *Romane Church*; both proper young

young men: *Chidiac Tychburne* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington*, whose father was the *Queenes* Cofferer; *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *Iohn Tranerfe*, and *Iohn Charnock* of *Lancashire*; *Iohn Iones*, whose father was *Queene Maries* Tailor; *Savage*, *Barnwell*, a Gentleman of *Ireland*, *Henry Dun*, *Clarke* of the first fruit Office. Into this societie *Polly* also insinuated himselfe, a man well acquainted with the affaires of the *Scots Queene*, a man well skilled in the art of simulation and dissimulation. Who was thought daily to reveale all their counsells to *Sir Francis Walsingham*, and to thrust them headlong into mischief, who were forward enough of themselves to evill. *Albeit Navius*, the *Scots Queenes* Secretary, warned them to beware of him.

To these did *Babington* communicate the matter, but not all to each one. His owne letters, and the *Scots Queenes* letters hee shewed to *Ballard*, to *Tychburn*, and *Dun*. He dealt with *Tilney* and *Tychburn* to be the strikers. They at first denied to defile their hands with the blood of their Prince. *Ballard* and *Babington* labour to proove it lawfull to kill Princes excommunicated; and if right should be violated, then for the Catholike religion it is to be violated. Hereupon, hardly perswaded, they yeeld their consent in a sort. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock*, and *Savage* readily and roundly without scruple sweare to kill her. *Salisbury* could by no meanes be perswaded to be a *Queene*-killer, but to deliver the *Scots Queene* hee offered his service willingly. *Babington* designeth *Tychburn* above the number to helpe the percussors, of whose fidelity and courage he

he had perswaded himselfe much. But he was now absent, travelling abroad. *Babington* commands that they impart the matter to none, except first an oath be taken to keepe silence. These conspirators now and then conferred of these matters in Saint *Giles* fields, in *Pauls* Church, in *Tavernes*, in which they had their daily feasts, being now puffed vp with the hopes of great matters. Sometimes commending the valour of the nobles of *Scotland*, who lately had intercepted the King at *Stirling*: and of *Gerard* the *Burgonian*, who killed the Prince of *Orange*. And so far they proceeded in their foolish vanitie, so strangely infatuated, that those that should strike the *Queene* they had pourtrayed in lively pictures, and in the midst of them *Babington* with this Verse:

*Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.*

But when this Verse was disliked, as seeming too plaine: for it, they set in place these words: *Quorsam hac alio properantibus?* These pictures were taken, as it was said, and brought to the *Queene*; who knew none of their countenances, but onely *Barnwells*, who used often to come in her presence, following the causes of the Earle of *Kildare*, whom he served: and she tooke notice of him by other marks. Verily one day as shee was walking abroad, she saw *Barnwel*; she looked sharply and undauntedly upon the man, and turning to *Sir Christopher Hatton*, Captaine of the *Guard*, and to some others: *Am not I* (quoth she) *well guarded?*

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*who have not so much as one man in my companie that hath a sword?* For *Barnwell* told this to the other conspirators, and declared how easily shee might have beene killed, if the conspiratours had then beene present. *Savage* in like sort reported the same.

Now there was nothing that so much troubled *Babington*, as the feare lest the promise of externall forces might faile. And therefore to make that good, he resolved to goe into *France*, and to send *Ballard* secretly before, for whose passage he had procured licence for money under a counterfeite name. And to remove all suspicion from himselfe by *Polly*, hee insinuateth himselfe into *Sir Francis Walsingham*, and dealeth earnestly with him, to intreat of the *Queene* licence for his passage into *France*, promising to doe some speciall service in searching and discovering the secret attempts of the fugitives of the *Scots Queene*. He commended the purpose of the young man, and promised not only to obtaine him licence to travell, but he promised withall great and goodly rewards to him, if he would doe such a service; yet holding him in suspence, he delaied the matter, and knew his purpose and drift well, having fished all out by an especiall skill he had in discovering treasons, but especially by the discoverie of *Gilbert Giffard*, a Priest, he was made acquainted with their intentions, which they thought were kept so secret, that the Sun had not knowne any thing thereof.

This *Giffard* was borne at *Chellington*, where the *Scots Queene* was kept, and sent by the fugitives into

into *England*, under the name of *Luson*, to put *Savage* in mind of his vow undertaken, and to lurke as a fit meanes to transmit Letters betwene them and the *Scots Queene*, because in so dangerous a businesse they could not draw in to serve their turne herein, neither the Countesse of *Arundel*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor *Henry Howard*, nor Sir *George Shirley*.

The fugitives, to trie whether the way was safe by *Giffard* to transmit Letters, first sent blanks many times sealed like Letters and packeted, which when by the answers they perceived to be truly delivered, now growne more confident, wrote often of their affaires intended in secret Characters. But *Giffard* before this, whether vexed in his conscience, or corrupted before with money, or terrified with feare, had opened himselfe to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, and declared with what purpose hee was sent into *England*, and offered all his service as from the love to his Country and his Prince, and promised to communicate to him all the Letters that he received either from the fugitives, or from the *Scots Queene*. *Sr Francis*, imbracing the opportunitie offered, entertained him courteously, and sent him into *Staffordshire*, and wrote to *Sr Amice Pawlet*, willingly to suffer some of his servants to be corrupted by *Giffard*, & to wink at it. But he being unwilling, as he said, to suffer any of his household servants by simulation to become a traytor, yet, though unwillingly, he suffered that the Brewer, or the man that provided Provender for his horse, who dwelt neere him, might be corrupted



by *Giffard*, *Giffard* easily corrupted the Brewer with some piece of gold, who by a hole in the wall where a stone was set, which might be remooved, sent Letters secretly, and received others, which alwayes by messengers provided for the purpose, came to the hands of *St Francis Walsingham*. Who opened the seales, copied out the Letters, and by the singular cunning of *Thomas Philipps*, found the secret Character, and by the skill of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them up againe so cunningly, that no man could suspect that they were opened, and then sent them to the parties to whom they were directed. Thus were disclosed those former Letters from the *Scots Queene* to *Babington*, and his answeres, and others againe from her to him, (in which there was a Postscript cunningly added in the same Character, to write the names of the six Gentlemen, and happily some other things.) Moreover, the same day, the Letters to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour, to *Charles Paget*, to the Lord *Paget*, to the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and to Sir *Francis Inglefield*, were all coppied out and transmittted.

The *Queene*, as soone as she understood so rough a tempest hanging over her head, both from inward traytours and forraigne enemies, shee commanded, to the end that the conspiracy might the sooner bee quelled, that *Ballard* should be apprehended. Whereupon he was suddenly taken, in the very nicke, when he was ready to depart into *France*, being taken in *Babingtons* house. Hereupon *Babington* was afraid and sore troubled, and vexed

vexed with a thousand cogitations, hee came to *Tychburne*, and with him adviseth what is best to doe. His advice was, that the conspirators should presently disperse themselves and flie, yet *Babington* thought it best to send *Savage* and *Charnok* presently to kill the *Queene*. But first to put *Savage* in braver and more courtly apparell, that so he might have a more easie passage. And of this project he had the same day speech with him in *Pants Church*. But presently changing his minde, and concealing his secret cares and feares, hee wrote Letters to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, being then in Court, wherein with great earnestnes he intreated that now at last hee might have licence to depart into *France*; and withall he made sute for *Ballards* deliverance, who might be of great use to him in his proposed businesse. *S. Francis* with faire promises keepes him from day to day in hope; That *Ballard* was taken, he laieth all the fault vpon *Tong*, that cunning hunter of *Papists*, and upon some other *Catch-poles*; and warneth *Babington* to take heed to such kind of men, as friendly admonishing him, and easily perswadeth the young man, that untill the *Queene* might bee at leasure to signe the Bill for his passage, he would returne to *London*, and lodge in his house at *London*; to the end that they might confer more secretly of so great matters. And that by his often comming the fugitives might not have any suspicion, when he came into *France*. In the meane time *Skidmor*, *S. Francis Walsingham* his servant was comanded to observe him most strictly, and should be with him whither so-

ever he went, in shew; that so hee might be safer from messengers that otherwise might apprehend him. Thus farre *S<sup>r</sup> Francis Walsingham* had closely carryed this businesse without the knowledge of other of the Privie Councell, and would have proceeded farther: But the *Queen* would not, lest (as shee said) by not preventing the danger when shee might, shee might seeme rather to tempt God, then to trust in God. Whereupon Sir *Francis* from Court wrote to his man that hee should observe *Babington* with an especiall care. This Letter was not sealed, but so delivered, that as the man read it, *Babington* sitting at Table with him, did also reade it. Whereupon finding himselfe guilty, and suspecting that all was disclosed, the next night when he and *Skidmor* and one or two of Sir *Francis* his servants had supped somewhat freely in a Taverne, hee rose, as going to pay the reckoning, and leaving his cloake and rapier, fled away in the darke to *Westminster*. Where *Gage* changed apparell with him, who presently put off the same againe in *Charnocks* chamber, and put on *Charnocks*. And conveyed themselves both into *S<sup>t</sup> Johns Wood* neere to the Citie. Whither *Barnwel* and *Dun* came to them. In the meane time they were declared traytors throughout *England*. They hiding themselves in woods and by-ways, after they had in vain expected money from the *French* Ambassadour and horse from *Tychburn*, they cut off *Babingtons* hayre, and defaced his native beauty, with rubbing his face over with the greene huskes of Walnurs. And being forced by hunger they

they came to *Bellamies* house, neere to *Harrow* on the Hill, who was a great favourer of the *Romish Religion*: where they were hid in barnes, & fed and cloathed with rusticall apparell. After ten dayes they were found and brought to *London*. Hereup on the Citie witnessed their publike joy by ringing of bells, by bonefires in the streets, by singing of Psalmes, in so much that the Citizens had great thanks given them from the *Queene*.

The other conspirators were soone caught, many of them neere the Citie; *Salisbury* in *Staffordshire*, his horse being killed under him by them who followed him; and *Traverse* was taken with him, after they had swimm'd over the riuer *Wever*; And *Jones* in *Wales*, who was not acquainted with the invasion intended, but only received them into his house, after he knew them to be proclaimed rebels, and hid them, and had furnished *Salisbury* as hee fled, and his man (who was a Priest) with a changed cloake. Onely *Windsore* was not found. Many dayes were spent in examining of them, who by their confessions betrayed one another, concealing nothing.

All this time the *Scots Queene* and her servants were kept by such a diligent watch of Sir *Amice Paulet*, that those things were altogether hidde from her, though now well knowne over all *England*. But after that these were apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorge* was sent to acquaint her with these things in few words. Which he did purposely when shee thought least of the matter, as shee was taking horse to ride a hunting. Neither was she

she permitted to returne, but in shew of honor she was carried about to Noble-mens houses. In the meane time, *John Manners, Edward Ashton, Richard Bagot, and William Wade*, (who ignorant of the whole matter had been sent into these parts), receiving authoritie from the *Queene*, did commit *Narvus* and *Carle*, Secretaries, and other servants, to such as might keep them assunder, that they might not conferre together among themselves, nor with the *Scots Queene*. And breaking up the Chamber-doores, they tooke all Chests and Boxes wherein they found letters, and sent them sealed with their seales to the Court. After that, *Sir Amice Paulet*, being commanded, tooke all the money, lest shee might corrupt some for money, and gave his promise to restore all againe. When the packets of Letters were opened before the *Queene*, the Letters of many forrainers were found, and Copies of many Letters to others, and about sixtie Tables of secret Characters; and some Letters from certaine Noblemen of *England*, with a full declaration of their love and services. Which thing notwithstanding, *Queene Elizabeth* dissembled that matter in silence, and accordingly used that word: *Videto, taceo; I see and say nothing.* But they smelling the matter, lest they might seeme to favour the *Scots Queene*, after that began to shew themselves enemies against her.

Now *Giffard*, after hee had played his part in this play, was sent away as a banished man into *France*; leaving before he went an indented paper with the *French Ambassadour Leiger* in *England*, with

with this instruction, that he should deliver Letters which he might receive from the Scots *Queen* or from the fugitives to none other, but onely to him who exhibited a paper answering to that indented paper. Which paper was by him sent secretly to Sir *Francis Walsingham*. *Giffard* returning into *France*, after a few moneths was imprisoned for his filthy life; and suspected of these things dyed miserably; confessing many of the foresaid matters, which was also found in his papers.

The XIII. of *September* seven of the conspiratours being brought to judgement, confessed themselves guiltie, and were condemned of treason. Other seven came the next day, who denied that they were guiltie, and committed themselves to God and their Countrey; yet were they condemned by their former confessions. Onely *Polly*, though guiltie of all, yet when he affirmed that he disclosed some of those matters to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, was not called to judgement. The twentieth of that moneth, the first seven were hanged and quartered in *S. Giles fields*, where they used to meet. *Ballard*, the contriver of all the mischief, asked pardon of God and of the *Queene*, conditionally, if hee had sinned against her. *Babington* (who without feare beheld *Ballards* death, whilst the rest were upon their knees in prayer) freely confessed his sinnes, and after he was taken downe from the Gallowes, cryed out in Latin, *Parce mihi Iesu*: the rest in their order likewise were hanged and quartered.

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After the punishment of these, *Nauus* a French man, and *Cuthbert* a Scot, Secretaries to the Scots *Queene*, were called into question upon the Letters that were taken in the lodging of the Scots *Queene*, and freely confessed that those Letters were of their owne writing, dictated by her in French, and so taken by *Nauus*, turned into English by *Cuthbert*, and written in secret Characters; whereby she was at last brought into question, which brought her also to her end.

The thing which we observe upon this Narration, is to continue our complaint of these gracelesse Instruments the *Priests* and *Iesuites*, that by their wicked suggestions bring Princes, Nobles, Gentlemen of good place, which might have done good service to their Prince and Countrey, such I say doe these wicked instruments bring to ruine, and seeme to take a pleasure in the destruction of men. May we not see how they come in secretly, and scraule in corners like Serpents? It is true, the enmity is of old betwene the *Womans* seed and the *Serpents* seed: and the Church which is the womans seed hath felt the experience hereof at all times; But never had any Church in the world a more lively experience hereof, then this Church of England, against whom all this hath been wrought. The Church is the *House of God*, and this Church of England is here with ys *Gods House*. It is apparant that this House was buik, not upon the *Sand*, but upon the *Rocke*; for the winds have blowne fiercely upon it, the waters have risen against it, the great and huge tempests.



gels have taken upon us, and yet standeth? And  
for this wee praise Gods Name; that it standeth  
still. And for this purpose is this small worke  
undertaken; to give the which word to all them  
that fear God, and lay the committing of our Lives  
to give most humble and most humble thanks unto  
God; for this inestimable favour of God; that af-  
ter all these assaults which have bene greater in  
danger, more in number then any Nation in the  
world at this day can number, that after all, I say,  
our Church standeth and flourisheth: this is our  
reioycing in God, in his goodnesse and mercie.  
But now consider who oppugne us: *the Serpents  
seed*; for can any man with any reason deny these  
men to be the seed of the Serpent? I mean the  
*Seminary Priests and Jesuites*. Are not these the seed  
of the Serpent? They plot and practise treasons,  
they raise rebellions, their heads and hands are  
full of blood and murder. And what can the Ser-  
pent his seed doe more? They are men acquaint-  
ed with the *deepenesse of Satan*, they lay snares and  
wicked plots for destruction of States, and lest  
men should descirie their mischiefe, they set a  
cleane contrary countenance upon their actions,  
giving out, that their weapons are *Preces & la-  
chryma, Prayers and teares*, and that it is unlawfull  
for them to use any other weapons; even then  
when they are about their most bloody designs:  
and what can the Serpents seed doe more? Can  
the seed of the serpent proceed more maliciously,  
more cruelly, more deeply in blood then these  
have done? Then let them be knowne to be the

Comica facie  
meras agunt  
tragadiu

seed of the serpent. As for us, we reioyce to be the  
seed of the woman, the true Church of God: we  
suffer, we are reviled, slandered, called *Heretikes*:  
Weakening of our Master to, *indure the Crosse, to de-*  
*spise the shame.* We run with patience the race which  
bee bath set before us. And wee serve God not in  
vaine, for we see that there is a reward for them  
that serve him.

## CHAP. X.

*The French Ambassadors plot with Stafford, to take away the life of the Queene, detected by Stafford himselfe. The end of Yorke and Stanley, traytors to their Countrey.*



*Stafford clearing him-selfe.*

**H** next yeere following, which was the yeere 1587. the *Scotts Queene* being before condemned, but yet reserved alive, discontented persons like evill spirits did continually haunt her; though shee her selfe would have been quiet, yet would not they let her rest, untill their busie and pernicious working brought her to her grave, for *Aubespinaus* the French Ambassador Leiger in England, a man

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wholly devoted to the *Guifian* Faction, went about to helpe the captived *Queene*, not by faire meanes, but by treason. First he conferred secretly to kill the *Queene* with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, easie to bee drawne to new hopes, whose mother was of the *Queenes* bed-chamber; his brother was the English Leiger in *France* at this time. Afterward, hee dealt more plainly with him touching this project, by his Secretarie *Trappius*; Who promised to *Stafford*, if hee would vndertake that matter, not onely great glory, great store of money, but especiall grace and favour with the *Pope*, with the *Guises*, and with all the *Catholikes*. *Stafford*, his conscience grudging at so great a wickednesse, refused to vndertake it. Yet he commended one *Moody*, a cut-throat, a man fit for such a businesse, that if money were given him, would undoubtedly vndertake and dispatch the busines. To him went *Stafford*, where he found him kept in prison in *London*, and told him that the *French* Ambassador would gladly speake with him. He answered that he was willing, so that he might be freed out of prison. In the meane time, he intreated that *Cordahon* another of the Ambassadors Secretaries might be sent to him, with whom he had familiar acquaintance. The next day *Trappius* was sent to him with *Stafford*. Who when *Stafford* was remooved, conferred with *Moody* of the manner of killing the *Queene*. *Moody* proposed a course to do it by poison, or by a sacke of covent pound of Gunne-powder, to be layd under the *Queenes* chamber, and to be fired secretly. These courses

courses pleased not *Trappius*, but he wished that a man of such courage might be found, as was that *Burgonian* who killed the Prince of *Orenge*.

These things were presently revealed to the *Queenes* Councill by *Stafford*. Whereupon *Trappius* now purposing to goe into *France*, was intercepted, and examined of these things. Afterward the Ambassadour himselfe the twelfth of *January* was sent for unto the house of Secretary *Cecil*, and came in the evening; where were together by the *Queenes* command, *Cecil* Lord *Burghley*, Secretary, the Earle of *Leicester*, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, and *Davison* another Secretary: These signifie to the *French* Ambassadour, that they sent for him, to let him know the cause why they intercepted *Trappius* his Secretary, when he was ready to goe into *France*; and they did open every thing which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappius* himselfe had confessed. And that they might testifie the same in his presence, they commanded them to be called in. The Ambassador, who bending his brows, heard these things with much impatience, rising up, said, that himselfe being an Ambassadour, would not heare any accusations to wrong his King, or in the prejudice of Ambassadors. But when they answered, that these men should not bee produced as accusers, but only that he might be satisfied that these things were not fained nor false; then he rested. As soone as *Stafford* was produced, and began to speake, he presently interrupted him, and railing upon him, affirmed that *Stafford* first proposed the matter to him; and that himselfe had threat-

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ned to send him bound hand and foot to the *Queene*, if hee would not desist from so wicked an enterprise; yet that he spared him for the singular affection which he bare to the mother, the brother and sister of *Stafford*. *Stafford* falling upon his knees, protested in many words upon his salvation, that the Ambassadour proposed the matter first to him. But when the Ambassador seemed to be extraordinarily mooved, *Stafford* was commanded to depart, and *Moody* was not produced.

Hereupon when *Burghley* had mildly charged the Ambassadour to be guiltie of such a conceived wickednesse, both from his owne words, and out of the confession of *Trappius*: hee answered, that if he had been conscious, yet being an Ambassadour, hee ought not to disclose it but to his owne King. But *Burghley* interposing told him, that if it were not the Office of an Ambassadour (which thing is yet in question) to disclose such a mischievous practice which bringeth the life of a Prince in danger; yet was it the office of a Christian to repress such notorious injuries, not onely for the safetie of a Prince, but for the safetie of any Christian. But the other stoutly denied that; and withall said, that not long since, the *French* Ambassadour being in *Spaine*, and having notice of a Conspiracie to take away the *Spanish* Kings life, yet disclosed it not to the *Spanish* King, but to his owne King, and was therefore commended of the King and of his Councillers. The Lord *Burghley* gave him a grave admonition, to take heed that hereafter he offended not in such a point  
of

of treason against the Prince, and not to forget the office of an Ambassadour, nor the Prince her clemencie, who would not wrong good Ambassadours by the punishment of an evill one; and though he were not *punished*, yet was he not *justified*, but did carry with him the *guilt*, though not the punishment of such an offence.

Though this intended evill came to no effect, as all the other bloody practices have been without effect: yet may wee make good use of it to blesse Gods Name for all his great and manifold deliverances. That it was disappointed, it was his goodnes: for against those Kings that had not given their service to God for the maintenance of true Religion, great and bloody practices have been committed by lesse and more contemptible meanes. And as we have just cause to blesse God for all his deliverances, so the adversaries of our peace have just cause to feare, to examine their owne doings, and seriously to consider, whether they have not all this while striven against God, in striving so long against those whom God doth so miraculously defend.

Not long after this followed the ignominious proditiō of *William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke*. This *Yorke* was a *Londoner*, a man of loose conversation and actions, and desperate. He was famous among the *Cutters* of his time, for bringing in a new kind of fight, to run the point of a rapier into a mans body, this manner of fight he brought first into *England*, with great admiration of his audaciousnesse. When in *England* before that time



the use was with little bucklers, and with broad swords to strike, and not to thrust, and it was accounted *unmanly* to strike *under the girdle*. This man, provoked as he tooke it by some injury of the Earle of *Leicester*, fled to the *Spaniards*, and for some time after served among the *Spaniards*. Afterward being reconciled, was made Captaine of a Sconce neere to *Zutphen*. After all this, he was so set upon revenge, that being corrupted with money, he did not onely betray the place to the enemy, but drew also *Stanly* with him, being a man that had served with great fidelitie and valour in the *Irish* warres. *Stanly* was not easily perswaded to be false, but this desperate fellow never ceased to draw him into the fellowship of wickednesse with him by many asseverations and oaths often repeated; telling him that it was certainly knowne in *England*, that hee was of *Babingtons* conspiracie; that he was already discovered by their confessions, and that out of hand hee should be sent for to the gallows. Thus he perswaded *Stanly* to betray the rich and well fenced Towne of *Deventer* to the *Spaniards*, against his oath given to *Leicester* and to the *States*. And seeking some pretence of honesty against a fact so dishonest & disloyal, he seemed to please himselfe in this, that he had restored a place to the true Lord, which was held from him by rebels. And being extreame *Popish*, he sent for Priests to his Company, which consisted of 1300. *English* and *Irish*, to instruct them in the *Popish Religion*; boasting that this should be the *Seminary Legion*; which should defend the *Romane Religion* with  
*Armes,*

*Armes*, as the *Seminary Priests* defend it with *writings*. To this purpose *Alan*, who a little after was *Cardinall*, sent *Priests* presently to him, and wrote a *Booke* also, wherein he commended this prodigious act from the authority of the Bull of *Pius V.* against *Queene Elizabeth*, and stirred vp others to such perfidiousnesse, as if they were not bound to serve and obey a *Queene* excommunicated. But looke, I pray, to the end.

The *Spanyards* set *Yorke* and *Stanly* together in contention one against the other; and soone after they poison *Yorke*, and take his goods: his body after three yeeres was digged up by the commandement of the *States*, and hanged till it rotted. They drew *Stanly* and his Companies out of *Dowenter*, and tossing them from place to place, they make them the object of all dangers, and so used them with all contumelies, that some of them dyed for hunger, others secretly fled away. *Stanly* himselfe went into *Spaine* in hope of reward, and offred his helpe to invade *Ireland*: but neither found hee entertainment according to his expectation, neither could he be trusted; for the *Spanyards* used to say, that *some honour might bee given to a traytour, but no trust*. It was now too late for him to learne, but yet he learned, that he had most of all betrayed himselfe.



*Spaniards* layd up all their hopes vpon this yeeres destinie.

The rumors of warre daily increased; at last it was certainly confirmed by the newes on all sides, that in *Spain* there was an *Invincible Navie* preparing against *England*; that the most famous Captaines in Military knowledge, and the best Souldiers were sent for into *Spain*, from *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea from *America*. For the *Pope* and some religious *Spaniards* and *English* fugitives now recalled the *Spaniard* to the cogitation of surprising of *England*, which purpose was interrupted by the *Portugall* warres. They exhorted him earnestly to doe God this service that had done so much for him: now that he injoyed *Portugall* with the *West Indies*, and many rich *Ilands*, to adde *England* to all, were an especial service of God fit for his *Catholike Majestie*. By this meanes he might adde these flourishing Kingdomes to his *Empire*; and so keepe the *Low-countries* in peace, secure the Navigations to both *Indies*. That the preparations of *Spain* were so great, that no power was able to resist it. They made him beleve that it was an easier matter to overcome *England*, then to overcome the *Dutch Land* because thenavigation from *Spain* to *England* was much shorter then to the *Netherlands*. And by surprising of *England*, the other would easily follow.

Hereupon the consultation began to be had of the best way and meanes to oppresse *England*. *Alvarus Bassanus*, the Marquess of *S. Croffe*, who was chiefe Commander in the Navie, advised first to

make sure some part of *Holland* or *Zealand* by the land-forces of the Duke of *Parma*, and by sending before some *Spanish* ships, so to take some place on a sudden, where the *Spanish* Navie might have a recepracle, and from whence the Invasion might with convenience begin. For in the *English* Sea, which is troublesome, the winds oft changing, the tydes unknowne, the Navie could not bee in safetie. With him agreed *Parma*, who much urged this expedition. Yet others disliked this counsell, as a matter of great difficultie and danger, of long time, of much labour, of great expence, of uncertaine successe. And that neither secretly nor openly it could be performed, and easily hindered by the *English*. These thought that with the same labour and expences *England* might bee wonne: and the victorie would be sure, if a well prepared armie from *Spaine* might with a strong Navie be landed on *Thames* side, and on a sudden surprise *London* the chiefe Citie by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing most easie to be effected. And therefore all agreed upon it. Yet some among them thought good that a denunciation of the warre should be made by an *Herald*, which they held a politike device, both to remoove suspition out of the minds of neighbour Princes, and to force the *Queene*, as they supposed, to call to her helpe forraine mercenary souldiers, conceiving that according to the usuall insolencie of mercenaries, they would tumult and spoyle the countrie; & so might the *Queene* bee brought into hatred of her owne people: that so all things in *England* would be brought

brought into a confusion, which might be helped by the *English Catholikes*. But neither could this advice be heard. For they being confident of their owne strength, thought it was sufficient to commend the *Invincible Navie* to the prayers of the *Pope* and of their other *Catholikes*, and to the intercession of *Saints*: and to set out a Booke in print to the terror of the *English*; in which Booke all the preparation was particularly related: Which was so great through *Spain*, *Italie*, and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themselves were in admiration of their owne forces, and therefore named it the *Invincible Fleet*.

The Duke of *Parma* also in *Flanders*, by the commandement of the *Spaniard* built ships, and a great company of smal broad vessels, each one able to transport thirtie horses, with bridges fitted for them severally, and hired Mariners from the East part of *Germany*; and provided long pieces of wood, sharpned at the end, and covered with iron, with hookes on the side; And twentie thousand vessels with an huge number of faggots; & placed an armie readie in *Flanders* of 103 Companies of foot, and 4000 horsemen. Among these were 700 *English* fugitives, which were had of all other in most contempt. Neither was *Stanly* respected or heard who was set over the *English*, nor *Westmerland*, nor any other who offered their helpe; but for their impiety towards their owne Country, were shut out from all consultations, and as men unopinious rejected not without detestation. And Pope *Sixtus V.* that in such a purpose would not bee wanting

wanting, sent Cardinall *Alan* into *Flanders*, and renewed the Bulls declaratory of *Pius V.* and *Greg. XII.* He excommunicateth the *Queene*, deposeth her, absolvet her subjects from all allegiance, and as if it had been against the *Turkes* and *Infidels*, he set forth in print a *Cruciata*, wherein he bestowed plenary Indulgences out of the treasure of the Church upon all that would ioyne their helpe against *England*. By which meanes the Marquess a *Burgaw* of the house of *Austria*, the Duke of *Pastrana*, *Amady* Duke of *Savoy*, *Vespasian Gonzaga*, *Iohn Medices*, and diuers other Noblemen were drawne into these warres.

*Queene Elizabeth*, that she might not be surprised at unawares, prepareth as great a Navie as she could, and with singular care and providence maketh ready all things necessary for warre. And she her selfe, which was ever most judicious in discerning of mens wits and aptnesse, and most happie in making choice when she made it out of her owne judgement, and not at the commendation of others, designed the best & most serviceable to each severall employment. Over the whole Navie she appoynted the Lo: Admirall *Charles Howard*. In whom she reposed much trust, and sent him to the West parts of *England*, where Captaine *Drake* whom she made Vice-admirall, joyned with him. She commanded *Henry Seymour* the second son to the Duke of *Somerset*, to watch upon the *Belgick* shoare with 40 *English* and *Dutch* shippes, that the Duke of *Parma* might not come out with his forces. Albeit some were of opinion, that the enemy was



was to bee expected and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved in the time of *Henry the 8.* when the *French* brought a great Navie upon the *English* shore.

By Land there was placed on the South Shores twentie thousand. And two Armies besides were mustered of the choicest men for warre. The one of these which consisted of a thousand horse, twenty two thousand foot, was the *Earle of Lancaster* for ever. And camped at *Wiltshire* on the side of *Thames*. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon *London*. The other was governed by the *Lord Hunsdon* consisting of 34. thousand foot, and two thousand horse to guard the *Queen* and *the*

The *Lord Grey*, *St. Francis Kneller*, *St. John Morrice*, *St. Richard Bingham*, *St. Roger Williams*, men famously known for Military expedition were chosen to confer of the land-fight. They thought fit that all those places should be fortified with walls and munition which were commodious to land in, either out of *Spain*, or out of *France*, as *Milford Haven*, *Helmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Boston*, the *Isle of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the open side of *Kent* called the *Downs*, the mouth of *Thames*, *Harwich*, *Tarmouth*, *Hul*, &c. That taints forth is through all the *Countrey* should be taken upon warnings given, to defend these places that they should by their best means and power hinder the enemy to take land, if he should land, that should they waste the *Countrey* with out, with pay to everything that might be of use to the enemy, that to be might find no more victuals then what he brought upon

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his shoulders with him. And that by continual *Alarmes* the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not trie any battell untill diuers Capraines were met together with their Companies. That one Capitaine might be named in every Shire which might command.

At this time diuers told the *Queene*, that the *Spaniards* were not so much to be feared without, as the *Papists* within; for the *Spaniards* durst make no attempt upon *England*, but upon confidence of their helpe within. And therefore, for the securitie of the whole, their heads were vpon some pretences to be cut off. Producing for this thing the example of *Henry* the 8. For when the *Emperour* and *French King* at the *Popes* instigation were combined and ready to invade *England*, King *Henry* presently executed the *Marquess* of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, *Edward Nevill*, and others, whom he suspected to faviour the enemies; which thing as soone as hee had done, the intended invasion was stopped and proceeded no further. But this advice the *Queene* utterly disliked, as being cruell; shee thought it enough to commit some of the *Papists* to *Witch Castle* in custody; and casting her eyes and mind on every side, she stirred up her Nobles with Letters often, though they were carefull and watchfull of themselves. She certified *Fitz Williams*, Lord Deputie of *Ireland*, what shee would have done there. She sent to the King of *Scots*, to warne him to take good heed of *Papists*, and the *Spanish* faction. But he, knowing well what a tempest and defolation was hanging, and threatening both

both alike, having already set his heart upon the maintenance of true Religion, & resolving to take part with the truth in prosperitie and adversitie; which is onely able to save and deliver her maintainers; had a little before refused to heare the Bishop of *Dumblain*, sent thither from the *Pope*; and had caused a league to bee made among the *Protestants* of *Scotland* for resistance of the *Spaniards*; and himselfe comming to *Anandale* with an armie, besieged *Maxwel*, and tooke him, and committed him to prison; who was lately returned out of *Spain* against his faith and allegiance; and came with an intent to favour the *Spanish* side; hee declared the *Spaniards* should be held as enemies, and against them caused all with great alacritie to bee ready in Armes.

Among these preparations for warre, which were great on both sides, the *Councells* of peace were not utterly cast away.

Two yeeres before, the Duke of *Parma* considering how hard a matter it was to end the *Belgick* warre, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with ayd from the *Queene*, hee moved for a treatie of Peace by the meanes of *Sir James Croft*, one of the privie Councell, a man desirous of peace, and *Andrew Lee* a *Dutch-man*, and professed that the *Spaniard* had delegated authoritie to him for this purpose. But the *Queene* fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, that the friendship betweene her and the confederate Provinces might bee dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawne to the *Spaniard*; she de-

ferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the Warres on both sides prepared, might be turned away, there was coming to treat of peace, but so as still holding the *Wepers* in her hand, *lono a firdw*

For this purpose in February Delegates were sent into *Flanders* the Earle of Derby, the Lo: Cobham, S: James Graft, Dr Dade, and Dr Rogers. These were received with all humanity on the Dukes behalfe, and they presently sent Dr Dade to him, that a place might be appointed for the treating, and that they might see the authority to him delegated from the *Spanish* King. Hee appointed the place neere to *Ostend*, not in *Ostend*, which then was holden of *English* against the King. his authority delegated hee promised then to shew when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the businesse, lest somewhat might fall out in the meane time which might trouble the motions of peace. *Richardus* spake somewhat more plainly, that he knew not what in this interim should be done against *England*. Nor long after Dr Rogers was sent to the Prince by an expresse commandement from the *Queene*, to know the truth, whether the *Spaniards* had resolved to invade *England*, which hee and *Richardus* did seeme to signifie. He affirmed, that he did not so much as thinke of the invasion of *England* when hee wished that the businesse might proceed with speed. And was in a maner offended with *Richardus*, who denied that such words fell from him. The 12. of April, the Count *Artemberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardus*, D. *Madison*, and *Garnier*, delegated from

from the Prince of Parma, joined with the English, abdyed to them the honour both in walking and sitting. And when they assured that the Duke had full authority to treat of Peace, the English were mooved that first a truce might be made. Which they denied, alledging that that king most needs bee hurtfull to the Spaniards, who had for his necessities maintained a great Army, which might not bee dismissed vpon a Truce, but ought to continue Peace. The English urged that a truce was promised before they came into Holland, if the Spaniards against that hold, that his majesties signet was promised; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the Queens power to undertake a truce for Holland and Brabant, who daily attended hostility. The English proposed stantly that the truce might be general, to containe the Queenes Territories, and for the Kingdomes of Scotland, but they would have it but for foure Dutch Townes which were in the Spaniards hands, that is, Ostend, Breda, Bergen op Zoom, and the Bril; and this only during the twentie and twentie dayes after, and that in the meantime it might be lawfull for the Queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, or the Spanish Netherlands. While these debates were on, concerning the truce and place, which at last was appointed at Bourbourg, Croft upon an earnest desire to peace, went privately to Brussels, without the knowledge of the other Delegates, and privately proposed some Articles. For which afterward by Leisackers motion he was imprisoned, albeit those

articles proposed by him were in the iudgement of the other Commissioners not to be disallowed. But *Delegates* have their *limits* circumscribed; which they are not to passe. At last when the *Eng-lish* could not obtaine an abstinence from Armes, and could by no meanes see the Charter by which the Duke of *Parma* had this authoritie granted to treat of peace, they proposed these things, that the ancient Leagues betweene the King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Burgundie* might be renewed and confirmed; that all the *Dutch* might fully enjoy their own priviledges; that with freedome of conscience they might serve God; that the *Spanish* and forraine souldiers might be put out of *Dutchland*, that neither the *Dutch* nor their neighbouring nations might feare them. If these things might be granted, the *Queen* would come to equall conditions concerning the Townes which now she held, (that all might know that she tooke up armes, not for her owne gain, but for the necessary defence both of the *Dutch* & of herselfe) so that the money which is owing therefore be repaid. They answered; that for renewing the old leagues there should be no difficultie, when they might have friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the priviledges of the *Dutch*, there was no cause why forraine Princes should take care, which priviledges were most favourably granted, not onely to Provinces and Townes reconciled; but even to such as by force of armes are brought into subjection. That forraine souldiers were held upon urgent necessity, when as *Holland*, *England*, & *France*, were

testimonies

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all



all in armes. Touching those Townes taken from the king of *Spain*, and the repaying of the money, they answered that the *Spaniards* might demand so many myriads of crownes to bee from the *Queene* repayed him, as the *Spanish* warre hath cost him, since the time that shee hath favoured and protected the *Dutch* against him.

At this time *D. Dafe* by the *Queenes* command going to the Duke of *Parma*, did gently expostulate with him touching a Booke printed there, set out lately by Cardinall *Alban*, wherein he exhorteth the Nobles & people of *England* and *Ireland*, to joyne themselves to the King of *Spaines* forces, under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, for the execution of the sentence of *Sixtus V.* Pope against the *Queene*, declared by his Bull. In which shee is declared an heretike, illegitimate, cruell against *Mary* the *Scots Queene*, and her subjects were commanded to helpe *Parma* against her: (for at that time a great number of those Bulls & Bookes were printed at *Antwerpe*, to be dispersed through *England*.) The Duke denied that hee had seene such a Bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the Popes authoritie, as for his owne King, him he must obey. Yet he said that he so observed the *Queen* for her princely vertues, that after the King of *Spain*, he offered all service to her. That he had perswaded the King of *Spain* to yeeld to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for *England*, then *Spanish*. For if they should be overcome, they would easily repaire their losse: But if you be overcome, the Kingdome is lost. To whom *Dafe* replied: that  
our



our *Queene* was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the Kingdome. That a Kingdome will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one battell, seeing the King of *Spain* in so long a warre is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimonie in the *Netherlands*. Well quoth the Duke, be it so. These things are in Gods hands.

After this the *Delegates* contended among themselves by mutuell replications, *praying* and *answering* the same words. The *English* were earnest in this a toleration of *Religion* might be granted at least for two yeeres to the confederate Provinces. They answered that as the King of *Spain* had not intreated that for *English Catholics*, so they hoped that the *Queene* in her wisdom would not intreat any thing of the King of *Spain* which might stand against his honour, his oath and his conscience. When they demanded the money due from the *States of Brabant*, it was answered, that the money was lent without the Kings authoritie or privitie. But let the accompt be taken, how much that money was, and how much the King hath spent in these warres, and then it may appeare, who should looke for repayment. By such answers they drive off the *English* of purpose, untill the *Spanish Fleet* were come neere the *English* shore, and the noise of Gunnes were heard from Sea. Then had they leave to depart, & were by the *Delegates* honourably brought to the borders neere to *Geld*. The Duke of *Parma* had in the meantime brought all his forces to the Sea shore. Thus this conference came to nothing, and ended by the

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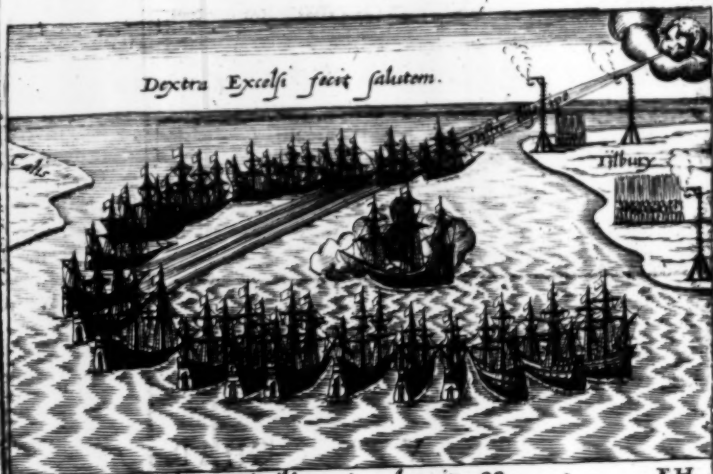
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## CHAP. XII.

*The Invincible Armie described. At the first setting out shaken sore with a tempest. The gifts of each day related particularly and punctually. They trusted in their strength, we in the name of our God; They are fallen, and we stand upright.*



The Invincible Armado in 88.

F.H.

**T**He Spanish Fleet, the best furnished with Men, Munition, Engines, and all warlike Preparation, that was ever seene upon the Ocean, and by that arrogant Title called *Invincible*, did consist of 130 Ships, wherein there were 19290 Souldiers; Mariners 8350; chained rowers 2080; great Ordnance 2630. The chiefe commander was *Perezinus*

Guz.

*Guzmannus*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*. (For *Antonius Columna*, Duke of *Palian* and Marquess of *S. Croffe*, to whom the chiefe government was allotted, dyed whilst things were preparing.) And under him *Iohannes Martinus Recaldus*, a man of great experience in Sea affayres. The 30 of May they loosed out of the river *Tagus*, and purposing to hold their course to the *Groyne* in *Gallisia*, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest: three *Gal- lies* by the helpe of *David Guin* an *English* servant, and by the perfidioufnesse of the *Turkes* which rowed, were carried away into *France*. The fleet with much adoe, after some dayes, came to the *Groyne* & other harbours neere adjoyning. The report was that the fleet was so shaken with this tempest, that the *Quene* was perswaded, that shee was not to expect that fleet this yeere. And *S<sup>t</sup> Francis Walsingham*, Secretary, wrote to the Lo: Admirall, that he might send back foure of the greatest ships, as if the warre had been ended. But hee did not easily give credit to that report, but with a gentle answer intréated him to beleeeve nothing hastily in so important a matter, that he might keepe those ships with him, though it were upon his owne charges. And finding a favourable wind turned sailes toward *Spaine*, to surprise the enemies shaken ships in the harbours. When he was not far from the shore of *Spaine*, the wind turned, and he being charged to defend the *English* shoare, fearing that the enemies unseene might by the same wind bee driven to *England*, he returned to *Plimmonth*.

With the same winde the 12 of *Iuly*, the Duke

of *Medina* with his *Fleet* departed from the *Groine*. And after one day or two he sent *Rodericus Tilius* into *Flanders*, to admonish the Duke of *Parma*, giving him notice that the *Fleet* was approaching, that he might be ready. For *Medina* his Commission was to joyne himselfe with the ships & souldiers of *Parma*, and under the protection of his *Fleet* to bring them into *England*, and to land his land-forces upon *Thames* side. Now as the relator of this Story hath taken paines to declare what was done each day, I will follow him herein.

The 16 day there was a great calme, and a thicke cloud was upon the sea till noone: then the North wind blowing roughly, & againe the West wind till midnight, and after that the East: the *Spanish* Navie was scattered and hardly gathered together untill they came within the sight of *England* the 19 day of *July*. Vpon which day the Lord Admirall was certified by *Flemming* ( who had been a *Pyrat* ) that the *Spanish Fleet* was entred into the *English* Sea; which the Mariners call the *Channell*. And was descried neere to the *Lizard*. The Lord Admirall brought forth the *English fleet* into the Sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacritie of the souldiers and Mariners; every one labouring; yea the Lord Admirall himselfe had his hand at the worke.

The next day the *English Fleet* viewed the *Spanish fleet* comming along with towers like Castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the *Moone*, the *horne*s of the front were extended one from the other about seven miles asunder, sayling with

with the labour of the winds, the Ocean as it were groaning under it; their sayle was but flow, and yett at full saile before the wind. The *English* gave them leave to hold on their course, and when they were passed by, came behind them, and got the helpe of the wind.

The 21 of *Iuly*, the Lord Admirall of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the Battell, by shooting off some Peccoes. And being himselfe in the *Arch-royall*, (the *English* Praetorian Shipp or Admirall) hee set upon a Ship which he tooke to be the *Spanish* Admirall, but it was the Ship of *Alfonfus Leua*. Vpon that hee bestowed much shot. Presently *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Frobisher* came in upon the *Spanish* hindmost Shippes which *Recaldus* governed. Vpon these they thundred; *Recaldus* laboured what he could to stay his men who fled to their Navie, untill his Shippe beaten and pearced with many shot, did hardly recover the Fleet. At which time the Duke *Medina* gathered together his dissipated Fleet, and setting up more sayle they held their course. Indeed they could doe no other, for the *English* had gotten the advantage of winde, and their Shippes were much more nimble & ready with incredible celeritie, to come upon the enemie with a full course, and then to turne and returne, and bee on every side at their pleasure. When they had fought two houres, and taken some tryall of their owne courage and of the *Spaniards*; The Lord Admirall thought good not to continue the fight any longer then, seeing that fortie ships were absent which

were scarce drawne out of *Plimmouth* haven. The night following, *S. Catharin* a *Spanish* ship being fore torne with the fight, was received into the midst of the *Navie* to be mended. Heere a great *Cantabrian* ship of *Oquenda*, wherein was the Treasurer of the Campe, by force of Gunpowder that had taken fire, was set on fire; yet was the fire quenched in time by the ships that came to helpe her. Of these that came to helpe the fired ship, one was a *Galeon*, in which was *Petrus Waldez*; the foremast of the *Galeon* was caught in the tackling of another ship, and broken. This was taken by *Drake*, who sent *Waldez* to *Dertmouth*; the money fiftie five thousand *Ducats* he distributed among his Souldiers. That night hee was appoynted to set forth light, but neglected it, and some *Germane* Merchants shippes comming by that night, hee thinking them to bee enemies, followed them so farre, that the *English* *Navie* rested all night when they could see no light set forth. Neither did he nor the rest of the *Navie* finde the *Admirall* untill the next day at even. The *Admirall* all the night preceding with the *Beare* and *Mary Rose* did follow the *Spaniards* with watchfulnes. The *Duke* was busied in ordering his Navy. *Alfonfus Leva* was commanded to joyne the first & last companies. Every Ship had his station assigned, according to that prescribed forme which was appointed in *Spaine*, it was present death to forsake his station. This done, he sent *Gliccius* an *Ancient* to *Parma*, which might declare to him in what case they were, and left that *Cantabrian* ship of *Oquenda* to the winde and



and sea, having taken out the money and mariners and put them in other ships. Yet it seemeth that he had not care of all: for that ship the same day, with fifty mariners and souldiers, lamed and halfe burnt, fell into the hands of the *English*, and was carried to *Weymouth*.

The 23 of the same moneth, the *Spaniards* having a favourable North wind, turned sailes upon the *English*; the *English* being much readier in the use of their shippes, set about a compasse for the wind, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought a while confusedly with variable fortune: whilst on the one side the *English* with great courage delivered the *London ships* which were inclosed about by the *Spaniards*; on the other side the *Spaniards* by valour freed *Recaldus* from the extreame danger he was in: there was not greater effulminations, by beating of Ordnances at any time, then was this day. Yet the losse fell upon the *Spanish* side, because their ships were so high, that the shot went over the *English* shippes; but the *English* having a faire marke at their great ships, shot never in vaine. Onely *Cock* an *English* man, being caught in the midst of the *Spanish* ships, could not be recovered; he perished but with great honour revenged himselfe. Thus a long time the *English* shippes with great agilitie were sometimes upon the *Spaniards*, giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off againe, and tooke the Sea to make themselves ready to come in againe. Whereas the *Spanish* heavy ships were troubled and hindered

dred, and stood to be marks for the *English* bullets. For all that the *Admirall* would not admit the *English* to come to grapple, and to boord their ships, because they had a full army in their ships, which he had not; their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some would have had it, the *English* that were much lower then the *Spanish* Shippes, must needs have had the worse of them that fought from the higher Shippes. And if the *English* had been overcome, the losse would have been greater then the victory could have been; for ours being overcome, would have put the kingdome in hazard.

The 24 day, they rested from fight on both sides. The *Admirall* sent some small Barkes to the next *English* shore, to supply the provision. And divided all his Navie into foure squadrons. The first was under his owne government; the second *Drake* governed; the third *Hawkins*; the fourth *Frobisher*. And he appoynted out of every squadron certaine little ships, which on divers sides might set upon the *Spaniards* in the night, but a sudden calme tooke them, and so that advice was without effect.

The 25 day, being *St. James* day, *St. Anne*, the Galeon of *Portugall*, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon by some small *English* ships, for whose ayd came in *Leva*, and *Diago Telles Enriguez*, with three Galeasses; which the *Admirall* and the Lord *Thomas Howard* espying, made in against the Galeasses (the calme was so great, that they

they were drawne in by boats with cords and did so beat upon the *Galeasses* with great shot, that with much adoe & not without great losse, they hardly recovered the *Galeon*. The *Spaniards* reported that the *Admirall of Spain* was that day in the hindmost company, and being nearer the *English* ships then before, was forebeaten with the *English* great Ordnance, many men slaine in her, her great Mast overthrowne. And after that, the *Admirall of Spaine* accompanied with *Recaldous* and others, did set upon the *English Admirall*, who by the benefit of the winde turning escaped. The *Spaniards* hold on their course againe, and send to the Duke of *Parma*, that with all speed he should joyne his shippes with the Kings Fleet. These things the *English* knew not, who write that they had stricken the *Lanterne* from one of the *Spanish* ships, the *Stemme* from another, and had fore beaten a third, doing much harme to her. That the *Non Parigly* and the *Mary Rose* fought a good while with the *Spaniards*, and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ships came in good time to helpe her. Thus it is in battell, they who are present and actors report not alwayes the same of the same things; each reporting what himselfe observed.

The next day the Lord Admirall knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townesend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobisher* for their valour well imployed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the enemy vntill they came into the straight of *Calis*, where *Henrie Seymour* and *William Winter* stayed for their

comming. Thus with a faire gale the *Spanish Fleet* goeth forward, and the *English* followed. This great *Spanish Armado* was so faire from being esteemed *Invincible* in the opinions of the *English*, that many young Noblemen and Gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the *Spaniards*, provided ships of their owne charges and joyned themselves to the *English Fleet*, among whom was the Earles of *Essex*, of *Northumberland*, of *Cumbreland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecilis*, *H. Brookes*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hutton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Walboughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and other Gentlemen of name.

The 27 day at even, the *Spaniards* cast anchors neere to *Calis*, being admonished of their skilfull sea-men, that if they went any farther, they might be indangered by the force of the tyde to be driven into the *North Ocean*. Neere to them stood the *English Admirall* with his Fleet within a great Gunnes shot. To the Admirall *Seimour* and *Winter* now joyne their ships; so that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the *English Fleet*, able and well furnished for fight, for saile, and to turne which way was needfull: and yet there were but fiftene of these which bore the burden of the battell, and repulsed the enemy. The *Spaniard*, as often he had done before, so now with great earnestnesse sent to the Duke of *Parma* to send forty *Fly-boats*, without the which they could not fight with the *English*, because of the greatnesse and slownesse of their owne ships, and the agilitie of the *English* shippes. And intreating him by all meanes

meanes now to come to sea with his Army, which Armie was now to bee protected as it were under the wings of the *Spanish Armado*, untill they tooke land in *England*. But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad shippes with flat bottomes, being then full of chinkes must bee mended. Victualls wanted, and must be provided, the Mariners being long kept against their willes, began to shrink away. The Ports of *Dunkerke* and *Newport*, by which hee must bring his Armie to the Sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furnished with great and small Munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unlesse hee would come vpon his owne apparant destruction, and cast himselfe and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might bee done, being a man eager and industrious and inflamed with a desire of over coming *England*.

But *Queene Elizabeth* her providence & care prevented both the diligence of this man & the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For by her commandement the next day the *Admirall* tooke eight of their worst ships, and dressed them with wildfire, pitch and rosen, and filled them full of brimstone, and some other matter fit for fire; and these being set on fire by the ministerie and guiding of *Tong* and *Prowse* were secretly in the night, by the helpe of the wind, set full upon the *Spanish Fleet* and they lay at Anchor. When the *Spaniards* saw them come neere, the flame shining & giving light over all the

sea: they supposing those ships besides the danger of the fire to have bin also furnished with deadly engins to make horrible destruction among them; lifting vp a most hiddeous woefull crie, some pull up *Anchors*, some for hast cut their *Cables*, they set up their *Sayles*, they apply their *Oares*, and stricken with a *Pannick terrour*, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them the *Pratorean Galcasse* floating upon the Seas, her Rudder being broken, in great danger of feare drew towards *Calis*, and sticking in the sand, was taken by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*; *Hugh Moncada* the Governor was killed, the Souldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the *English*; The Ship and Ordnance fell to the share of the Governor of *Calis*.

The *Spaniards* report, that the *Duke*, when hee saw the fiery ships comming, commanded all the fleet to put up their *Anchors*, but so as the danger being past, every ship might returne againe to his station. And he himselfe returned, giving a signe to the rest by shooting off a Gunne. Which was heard but of a few, for they were farre off scattered, some into the open *Ocean*, some through feare were driven upon the shallowes of the shoare of *Flanders*.

Over against *Graveling* the *Spanish fleet* began to gather themselves together. But upon them came *Drake* and *Fenner*, and battered them with great Ordnance: To these *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeſton*, *Crosse*, *Riman*, and presently after, the Lord *Admirall*,

*rall*,

rall, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield* came in, and all joyned together. The Duke *Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Recaldus*, and others with much adoe getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the *English* force as well as they might, untill most of their ships were pearced and torne. The Galeon *S. Matthew*, governed by *Diego Pimentellus*, comming to aid *Francis Toletan* being in the *S. Philip*, was pearced and shaken with the reiterated shots of *Sesmonar* and *Winter*, and driven to *Ostend*, and was at last taken by the *Flushingers*. The *S. Philip* came to the like end. So did the Galeon of *Biscay*, and divers other.

The last day of this moneth, the *Spanish* fleet striving to recover the Straights againe, were driven toward *Zealand*. The *English* left off pursuing of them, as the *Spanyards* thought, because they saw them in a maner cast away. For they could not avoid to be cast upon the shallowes of *Zealand*. But the winde turning, they got out of the shallowes, and then began to consult what were the best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to returne into *Spaine* by the *Northerne* seas, for they wanted many necessaries, especially shot, their ships were torne, and they had no hope that the Duke of *Parma* could bring forth his forces. And so they tooke the sea and followed the course towards the *North*. The *English* Navie followed, and sometimes the *Spanish* turned upon the *English*, insomuch that it was thought by many, that they would return back againe. Vpon which report the *Queene* came into the Campe at *Tilbury*, and mu-



stetted the Armie, riding among them with a *Leaders staffe* in her hand, and did by her presence and speech animate both captaines and souldiers with incredible courage,

The day wherein the last fight was, the Duke of *Parma* after his vōwes offred to the *Lady of Halla*, came somewhat too late to *Dunkerk*, & was received with some opprobrious words of the *Spaniards*, as if in favour of *Queene Elizabeth* he had slipped the fairest opportunitie that could bee to doe the service. Hee to make some satisfaction, punished the *Purveieurs* that had not made provision ready; secretly smiling at the insolencie of the *Spaniards*, when he heard them glorying, that what way soever they came upon *England*, they would have an undoubted victory; that the *English* were not able to indure the sight of them. *Bernardinus Mendoza* did indeed by Bookes in *France* sing a foolish and lying triumphant song before the victory. The *English Admirall* appoynted *Seymour* and the *Hollanders* to watch upon the coasts of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* should not come out; himselfe followed the *Spaniards* upon their backs; untill they were past *Edenborough frith*.

The *Spaniards* seeing all hopes faile, and finding no other helpe for themselves but by flight, fled amaine, and never made stay. And so this great Navie being three yeeres preparing with great cost, was within a moneth overthrowne, and, after many were killed, being chased away: (of *English*) there was not one hundred lost, nor one ship lost; saving that of *Cocks* was driven about all *Brittaine*,  
by

by Scotland, Orcaides, Ireland, tossed and shaken with  
tempests and much lessened, and came home with  
out glory. Whereupon some money was coyn-  
ed with a *Navis fregit undas* at full saile, and this in-  
scription: *Veni, Vidit, Fugit*. Other were coyned  
with the *ships freed*; the Navie confounded, in ho-  
nour of the *Queene*; inscribed: *Dux famula fuit*.  
As they fled, it is certaine that many of their ships  
were cast away upon the shores of Scotland & Ire-  
land. Most then of soldiers and Mariners were  
cast upon the *Scottish* shore, in the Duke of  
*Perth*'s insurrection with the *Scottish* King, the  
*Queene* of England consenting, were after a yeere  
sent into *Flanders*: But they that were cast up upon  
the *Irish* shore by tempests came to more miserable  
fortunes; for some were killed by the wild *Irish*, o-  
thers by the *Deputies* command; for he fearing that  
they might joine themselves to the wild *Irish*, and  
*Bingham* the Governour of *Connacht* being once or  
twice commanded to slay them having yielded,  
but refusing to doe it; *Honour* the Under-Marshall  
was sent, and killed them; which crueltie the  
*Queene* much condemned, whereupon the rest be-  
ing afraid, sicke and hungry, with their torne ships  
committed themselves to the sea, and many were  
drowned.

*Queene Elizabeth* came in publicke Thankgi-  
ving to *Pauls* Church, her Nobles accompanying  
her, the Citizens were in their colours, the Ban-  
ners that were taken from the enemies were spread:  
she heard the Sermon; and publicke thanks were  
rendred unto God with great joy. This publicke  
joy

joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney returned out of Scotland, brought from the King assurance of his Noble minde, and affection to the *Queen* and to Religion: Which as in *sinceritie* hee had *establisshed*, so hee purposed to *maintaine* with all his power. S<sup>r</sup> Robert was sent to him when the *Spanish Fleet* was comming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for propense affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to helpe him, if the *Spaniards* should land in Scotland; and that he might recall to memory with what strange ambition the *Spaniard* had gaped for all *Britaine*, urging the Pope to excommunicate him, to the end hee might be thrust from the Kingdome of Scotland, and from the succession in England; and to give him notice of the threatening of *Mendoza* and the *Popes Nuntio*, who had threatned his ruine if they could worke it; and therefore warned him, to take especiall heed to the *Scottish Papists*. The King pleasantly answered, that he looked for no other benefis of the *Spaniard*, then that which *Polyphemus* promised to *Vlysses*, so devoure him last after all his fellows were devoured.

Now these things be such, as whensoever we thinke upon them, we cannot choose but lift up our hearts to God; for hee hath put a song of joy and thanksgiving in our mouthes, and taught us to lift up our eyes to him from whence commeth our helpe. Our helpe commeth from the Lord which hath made the Heaven and the Earth, hee will not suffer thy foot to slippe, for hee that keepeth thee will not slumber, behold

behold, hee that keepeth Israel will neither slumber nor sleep, the Lord is thy keeper, the Lord is thy defence as thy right hand. Then let others boast of their strength or wisdom, or deepe policies, their invincible Armies by Sea and Land: wee glory in the Name of our God, which hath done so great things for us. If a man with an impartiall eye looke upon thele, though hee be an *emie*, though hee bee a *Jesuite*, he must needs confesse that God was on our side, yea, though hee be an *Atheist*, as *Don Pedro Waldes*, who scorningly speaking and thinking of Religion, yet confessed, that now hee perceived that *Christ was a Lutheran*. The enemies of Religion could not but secretly acknowledge the hand and great power of God to bee for us against them. Now this being a thing confessed on all sides, that God was with us against the *Spaniard*, why will not our adversaries that are men of understanding enter into the consideration of this cause which God hath so often, so mightily maintained? The Works of the Lord are great, and ought to bee had in remembrance of them that feare him. And this durie is required of us that have seene the great workes of God, to declare them to other. For one generation shall praise thy workes to another generation, and declare thy power. The workes of God must be sought out, had in remembrance, and declared to other. The word of God is the rule of our faith, a direction to us, a Lanterne to our feet, and a light to our paths, but the word of God being confirmed to us by his workes, is made more sweet to us. This must needs be comfortable to us, that

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have

Psal. 111.

Psal. 145. 4.

have the Word of God among us, sent unto us, planted among us by his owne hand, we were as farre from deserving this favour, as they that sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death; for so wee sate in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, so long as wee sate in the ignorance of Poperie; but when it pleased God of his owne free mercie to send his light among us, the truth of his Gospell, and out of the same Fountaine of his goodnesse and mercie raysted beleeving Princes among us, which have established his true Religion in our Land, a *Queene of such Pietie, a King of so great Knowledge, and Learning, and Piety, as knoweth the truth, and is so able to maintaine it:* God I say having of his goodnesse raised such blessings to us, hath never ceased to maintaine his owne worke. Let us never cease to give him the glory. But can our adversaries take any comfort in their doings? The King of *Spaine* may once enter into the consideration of things, he may remember how he and his predecessors have been so many times beguiled by the *Pope*, how often hath the *Pope* and his *Iesuites* consecrated his Banners, promised him victorie against us, as against Heretikes forsaken of God and man; let them know that *there is a God that ruleth the world*, and not the *Pope*. If they would have their designs to prosper, they must follow the exāples of our godly Princes, who are blessed for the sinceritie of Religion which they imbrace. They must give over injustice and crueltie; for the crueltie of the *Spaniards* have lost them all that they lost in the *Netherlands*: Their pride and cru-

eltie

*elie* was highly raised against vs, but to their own hurt and dishonour, not to ours, because wee trust in God. They would have extinguished the true lights of *Britaine*, (which then did shine like two glorious Candles put in their sockets, and held up in the hand of Christ, and as now, to the comfort of both Nations, joyned in one great Light) these they laboured to extinguish, and to tread downe the Soule of the Turtle; but our Prayer is, Give not the soule of thy Turtle Dove unto the Beast, and forget not the congregation of the poore for ever. Consider thy Covenant, for the darke places of the earth are full of the Habitation of the cruell. Arise, O Lord, and maintaine thine owne cause, remember the daily reproach of the foolish: forget not the voyce of the enemy; for the tumult of them that rise against thee ascendeth continually. God saved the soule of his Turtle, hee remembred the congregation of the poore that trusted in him, he considered his covenant, he maintained his owne cause, and of this we rejoyce. But where are those darke places of the earth, which are full of the habitation of the cruell, as the Prophet saith: Surely let the *Iesuites* looke to that, and let them expound those words if they be able, for surely no man can expound those words, but he shall finde *Superstition* and *cruelty* inseparably joyned together; their *superstition* maketh the places of their habitations darke places; their *Superstition* breedeth *crueltie*; for greater *crueltie* the world hath not scene, then hath proceeded from them: truly then may wee sing with the Psalmist, that the darke places of the earth are full

Psal. 74. 19.

of the habitations of the cruell. There is no hope to amend these Iesuites that have given themselves over to the service of the man of sin, and to the practise of impietic, of such I say there is no hope to perswade them, because *they love not the truth*. But the Kings and Princes that have been so long abused and beguiled by them, may in time understand the difference betweene truth & fallshood, and may joyne with our religious Kings against the great Deceiver, and our hope is, that they will understand his deceits and illusions, and forsake him: for otherwise they must perish with him. They that are wise wil understand and consider the cause which God hath so long, so strongly maintained, they will consider the power, the fury, and rage of our adversaries have been continually frustrated by Gods power; they may consider that these extraordinary blessings upon Gods Church among us, and the memorable judgements of the adversaries, are but fore-runners of some greater stroakes, and heavier judgements of God against them, if they will not turne and forsake superstitious vanities, and serve God with vs. Which God grant, that the Kingdome of Christ may be *enlarged*, his true Religion *strongly maintained*, his name *glorified*, his people *conserved*, and let all that worship not the Lord IESVS, and love not his coming, perish.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XIII.

Stephen Ferrera de Gama, with other discontented Portugalls, practising against Don Antonio their King, who was fled into England for succour, were taken by Queene Elizabeth, and delivered to King Antonio, and their Letters were intercepted, whereby it appeared upon examination, and burling out of the matter, that they had practised with the King of Spaine, not onely to doe away King Antonio, but also to take away Queene Elizabeths life by poison, and that, by the meanes of Doctor Lopez a Jew, the Queenes Physician, for fifty thousand Crownes promised him, and to bee payed by the instruments of the Spaniard. Ferrera's treason against Don Antonio discovered by a Letter sent to Doctor Lopez in a little piece of paper wrapt in a handkerchiefe, intercepted by the King. Lopez his siffie deniall of his privitie to this treason against King Antonio brings out (by good examination made by the Commissioners, and by the severall Confessions of his Confederates) not onely that, but his intended treachery against Queene Elizabeth. Manoel Lowys Tinoco his first examination, and the two Letters taken with him, the one from Secretarie Ibarra, the other from the Count Fuentes. Pedro Ferrera his examination gives light to the discovery of the secret villany intended. Stephen Ferrera de Gama his examination. Manoel Lowys his second examination, and the enlargement of his Confession under his othe laid. Doctor Lopez with much ado at last confesseth, that Ferrera had promised him fifty thousand Crownes

to bee payd out of the King of Spaines Coffers, to poyson  
*Queene Elizabeth*, and these were the goodly Wares  
 of Doctor Lopez, precious and of high esteeme in the  
 eye of the Spaniard, as *Manoel Lowys* expounded  
 that mysticall letter written in a Merchants stile. This  
 practise of poysoning, it was one of the sinnes of the Ca-  
 naanites, it was brought into the Church by Popes,  
 and reckoned among the sinnes of the Antichristian  
 Synagogue, and taught for Doctrine by the Romish  
 Rabbies.



Lopez conspiring to poyson the *Queene*



After this great tempest from *Spaine* was  
 past, the Sunne did shine as pleasantly  
 on *England*, as before. By all the *Spanish*  
 preparations there was not a man called  
 from his husbandry in *England*, nor any Artificer  
 from

from his Trade, there was not so much as one cottage burned. Did ever the *English* make any journey into *Spain*, and returned without doing no more harme then the *Spaniards* did to us? The *English* made after this two journeyes into *Spain*, and in both did that which they intended to doe, that is, ransacked Townes; and put to flight the armies which incountred them. But this is beyond the limits of my purpose, which is only to declare our deliverances, and to give thanks and honour to God for the same.

Now we come in the next place to declare the foule practise of Doctor *Lopez*. A thing hatefull and detestable to thinke on. Wherein, in the judgment of an honest man, the king of *Spain* lost more honour, then if in a set battell, he had lost the field. For the losse of a field may be recovered, but the losse of reputation by practising or procuring villany can never be repaired. The matter was thus discovered. When Don *Antonio* King of *Portugal* was driven out of his Countrey, and came into *England*, some Gentlemen of *Portugal* followed the distressed King for a time. But finding his estate to grow worse and worse; and in the end desperate and without hope of recovery, they began to thinke of a course to helpe themselves, as they supposed, by forsaking and betraying King *Antonio*; and reconciling themselves to the King of *Spain*. And then their care was to recommend themselves to the *Spaniard* by some speciall service, & knowing treasonable practises to bee a service well accepted of him, entred into a deepe and villanous practise

tise of treason, not onely against *Don Antonio*, but also against the life of *Queene Elizabeth*, and the whole State. The manner of descrying of it was thus.

In the yeere 1593, the *Queene* was given to understand, that a Gentleman of *Portugal* named *Stephen Ferrera de Gama*, a follower of the King *Don Antonio*, upon some discobtemment had a purpose to goe to the King of *Spain*, and had practised to procure the eldest sonne of the King *Antonio* and divers other *Portugals* servants, and followers of the said King to offer their service to the King of *Spain*, & seeke to their peace with him. Hereupon the *Queene* gave directions to the Earle of *Essex* about the midd of *October*, for the apprehension of the said *Ferrera*, and to haue his papers seached. Who lay at that time in *London*, in the house of Doctor *Lopez*, one of her Majesties Phisicians for her household. Betweene *Lopez* and *Ferrera* there was very strict & inward friendship. *Ferrera* being taken and brought to *Windsor*, was delivered over to the King *Don Antonio*, who remained then at *Eaton*. At the time of his apprehension strict order was given by the Earle of *Essex* to the Post for the Low countrey, that all such Letters as might come to his hand directed to any *Portugal*, should be presently sent to his Lordship. The same direction was given by his Lordship to sundry Ports, especially to *Dover*, *Rye*, and *Sandwich*, and like order was taken for the stay of any *Portugal* that might repaire in to this Realme at those places. This order and direction was no sooner given, but the ordinary Post

at

An. Dom. 1593

at London sent diuers Letters to his Lordship, directed to Portugall Merchants, and others of that Nation remaining about London. Among the rest there were Letters addressed to one *Diego Hernandez* from *Francis Torres*, whitten in the Portugall language in stile of Merchandise and in a disguised hand. By which Letters it did appeare that this *Hernandez* had advertised matters of great importance to the enemy. *Ferrera*, being narrowly examined and shewed those Letters, did acknowledge that those letters were addressed to himselfe under that fained name, and that *Francisco Torres* was a Portugall that had served the King *Don Antonio* called *Manoel Lowys*, and remained now at *Bruxels* about the Count *Fuentes*, and the Secretary *Ibarra*. Hee confessed further under his hand, that *Don Emanuel*, eldest sonne to King *Don Antonio*, had been wrought to submit to the King of *Spaine*. And that both himselfe and diuers other Portugalls attending on the King, heere meant to seek their peace with the King of *Spaine*. And that Doctor *Lopez* was acquainted with the purpose of *Don Emanuel*. And further, how he himselfe had written to *Don Christophoro de Moro*, and the Secretary *Ibarra*, to offer his service to the King of *Spaine*; and had received Letters from them in acceptance of his service and offers.

The *Queene*, being made acquainted with this declaration, and how farre Doctor *Lopez* was touched in the same, was neverthelesse so farre from suspecting him, that her Highnesse gave direction he should be used to peruse the papers of *Ferrera*,

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being

being in the *Portugal* language. At the same time a *Portugal* called *Manoel Pays*, a follower of King *Don Antonio*, by the order aforetaken, was apprehended at *Dover* with a great packet of Letters, which *Ferrera* had delivered to him to bee conveyed to *Manoel Lowys* being then at *Bruxels*. And within a few dayes after, the Post of *Antwerp* arrived at *Dover*, and a *Portugall* called *Gomes d'Avila*, was set on land there. Who both were stayed at that Port, and diligently searched. And both the letters and their persons sent to the said Earle.

In the Packet of *Manoel Pays*, among other things was a Letter which *Ferrera* sent to *Stephen Ibarra*, and a Letter which *Lopez* had sent to *Ferrera* from the Court, *Ferrera* being at the house of *Lopez* in *London*. There was found also a Letter from *Christophoro Moro*, a *Portugall* by birth, one whose advise the King of *Spaine* chiefly used in subduing the Realme of *Portugall*. And is so used by the King as an instrument in those services which men of birth will not lightly undertake. It appeared that this *Ferrera* had bin a notable Spie, advertising the King of *Spaine* and his Ministers, which thing he could not doe of himselfe, but by the helpe of some other here within the Realme, that did furnish him from time to time with intelligence. In the Letters sent from *Manoel Lowys* to "*Ferrera*, *Lowys* saith, That the Merchants on the "*other side do wonderfully esteeme & commend* "*his Wares and Merchandises to bee especiall* "*good, rare, well-coloured and in great request.* "*Assuring him of good account and returne, and* they

“they confesse, they never had any Factor that  
“sent so *choyce Wares*. And therefore they desired  
“to continue him there some time. They com-  
“mended the *Jewell* he sent, and reported how the  
“*Amber* and *Muske* was highly esteemed. And  
“spake of *Broadcloth*, *Scarlet*, *Threds of Pearles*,  
“a *Diamond*, and sundry kinds of *Merchandises*,  
so sorted and matched, as it might easily appeare,  
those words did serve for *Cypher* to colour great  
matters. By these and other Letters it appeared,  
that *Ferrera* had advertised some important and  
secret matter, of which answer and resolution was  
expected out of *Spaine*.

Vpon further examination it was found, that  
*Gomes d'Avila* had been sent two moneths be-  
fore, which was in the midst of *September*, from  
*Exercito Manoel Lowys*, and the Secretary *Ibarra*,  
who was Secretary at Warres for the King in the  
*Low-countrie*s. A man whose vile disposition ap-  
peared, that wanting (belike) other vertuous parts  
to advance himselfe, did seeke to get credit by dis-  
honest meanes.

As soone as *Gomes d'Avila* was brought to the  
Court, hee used all meanes he could to let *Lopez*  
understand of his apprehension. And intreated an  
honest Gentleman, that understood the *Spanish*  
tongue, being by chance in the Earle of *Essex*  
chamber at that time, to tell him so much. Who  
meeting with *Lopez* in the base Court at *Windsor*,  
did the message, and observed sudden alteration in  
*Lopez* his countenance. Hereupon by the cunning  
of *Lopez* much meanes was used for his enlarge-



ment; for *Lopez* feared that the other would not conceale him. Therefore hee found the meanes that a woman, which *D' Avila* had used for his wife should worke the deliverie of her supposed husband. The woman being a cunning peece, did sollicit it with great importunitie very diligently. And under colour of her importunitie *Lopez* himselfe moved her Majesty for his enlargement. *Gomes* confessed that there was a great summe of money certainly to be sent hither; and named fifty thousand crownes. Many shiftings were used and pretences, that this money was onely for *Don Antonio*. And the letters were expounded by *Ferreira* to import onely matters of *Portugall*. But afterward it was confessed, that the Letters which *D' Avila* brought, were in answer to the Letter made by *Lopez* to take away the *Queenes* life. And when answer should come out of *Spain*; when and in what sort it should be done, and of the money which was promised for this service (as they rearmed it,) *Mayoel Louys* himselfe for more assurance should bring the answer. Now because it did appeare by these Letters and confessions, that a *Portugall* called *Francis Caldera*, who came over hither with the *Vidam* of *Chartres*, and remained for the most part with the *French* Ambassadour, did concurre with these parties to advertise all things hee could learne about the *Vidam*, or the Ambassadour; order was taken also for his apprehension.

In the meane time *Lopez* bestirred himselfe in giving hard information to her Majestie and others,

thers, of the King *Don Antonio*. How cruelly hee had dealt with *Ferrera*. He declared what service might be drawne from him, if he were let escape, that there was no fitter instrument in the world to worke a peace betweene those two kingdomes, and said that they two had already layd a good foundation to worke upon for that matter. Hee shewed extraordinary courtesie and all complements to those who by her Majesties order dealt in that matter. He stuck not (such was his impudency) to propound to her Majestie what a good deed it were to cousten the King of *Spaine*. Which speech, uttered by him purposely, her Majestie did both greatly mislike, and sharply reprehend. Hee devised very lewd suggestions against such as hee doubted would display his treachery, to make an impression before hand to diminish the credit whence the accusation might come.

*Ferrera* thought that hee had satisfied all with a declaration which he had made of *Portugall* matters. Yet he doubted much that the answer which was to come & daily expected out of *Spaine* from the King about *the great service*, as they termed it, should fall into the Earle of *Essex* hands, who had taken such strict order, as (to use their own words) a paper could not escape. He practiseth with his keeper, a young man, one *Pedro Ferrera*, put in trust by the King to bee his keeper, of whom having made prooffe in some matters of lesse importance, the chiefe care he had, was to give warning to *Lopez* in any case to find the meanes, that *Gomes D<sup>a</sup> Avila*, being expressly sent by *Lopez*, (whose

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arivall

arivall was as yet kept from *Ferrera*) might bee stayed on the other side, and all the Letters also stayed that might be sent hither by any *Portugall*. First hee practised with this young man, to desire *Francis Caldera*, being then at the *French Ambassadors house*, who lay in *Eaton Colledge*, not far from the lodging where the King remained, to passe by his window to speake two or three words with him. *Caldera* answered, he durst not put it in hazard, because it might turne to both their harmes. And finding by the returne of the answer that *Pedro Ferrera* had done his message faithfully, he did adventure to trust him with a letter to *Caldera*, before the said *Caldera* was restrained, wherein he willeth him in any wiseto wish Doctor *Lopez* to prevent the comming over of *Gomes d'Avila*. For if he should be taken, the Doctor were utterly undone. Answer was returned, that the Doctor had already taken order in that matter, and sent twice or thrice, and that hee would spare no expence, though it should cost him three hundreth pounds to stay those letters. But these things long after were discovered.

*Ferrera* having no meanes to send againe to *Caldera*, who now was close prisoner at *Dutton Parke*, wrote to the Doctor in a little piece of paper, and sent the same in an handkercher, which by the Kings meanes was intercepted. And thereupon *Ferrera* being examined, and imagining that Doctor *Lopez* had delivered his Letter to the King *Don Antonio*, did set downe under his owne hand a Declaration, to shew that *Lopez* was acquainted with

with the submission set downe in writing, which *Don Emanuel* sent to the King of *Spaine*. And that he had seen the letters from *Don Christophoro Moro* and the Secretary *Ibarra* to *Ferrera*, and how the Doctor had cunningly got *Andrada* out of prison, a *Portugall* that had practised with *Bernardino de Mandoza* to kill the king *Don Antonio*. And that the Doctor of long time had been at the devotion of the King of *Spaine*.

Hereupon was *Lopez* examined before the Lord Treasurer, the Ea. of *Essex*, and *St Rob. Cecil*. *Lopez*, like a Jew, did utterly with great oathes and execrations deny all the poynts, articles, and particularities of the accusation. Hee had a little before burned all his papers touching these matters, that among them nothing might be found against him. After some other examinations, wherein his usuall answer was by oathes and execrations, hee was committed to the Tower.

In the meane time the Dispatch came out of *Spaine*, and the answer in this great matter. *Manoel Lowys Tinoco*, who was reserved for this speciall service, was presently dispatched, and trusted with the same. For none but *Portugals* were used in this businesse, and that was not done without a great mysterie. For the King of *Spaine* with one stone would give two stroaks. If the practise should be discovered, it would be a riddance of so many *Portugals*, and make that Nation more odious to *Queene Elizabeth*. *Lowys* thus comming to *Calais*, stayed there a while to heare from friends, and to deliberate what course to take. At last  
he

hee resolved to have a Pasport for colour of his comming over, making offer that he would discover matters of great importance concerning her Majestie and the State. And so was he brought to the Court. The *Queene* appointed *St Rob. Cecil* to take his examination. And having afterward perused the Declaration exhibited, and calling to mind how the Earle of *Essex* was only acquainted with the examinations taken in those *Portugall* causes, imparted the same to the Earle. Who presently told her that this partie was a principall actor in conveying of these *Portugall* practises, and the onely man of whom choyce was made to bring the dispatch when it should come out of *Spaine*. Which now by all likelihood was returned. Wherefore the *Queene* commanded that he should be examined by the Earle of *Essex* and *Sir Rob. Cecil*.

This *Lovys* in his examination declared great affection to the State, to advance matters of importance, and what great service he would doe to her Majestie, if he might be secretly and speedily dispatched. And said, the onely way to give him credit, was to permit him to speake with *Lopez*. These earnest motions of his made the Lords more watchfull of him. Being examined what Letters he brought, and concerning that answer from the *Spanish* King which he was to bring, hee forswore the bringing of any Letters. But being after this more strictly examined he produced two Letters, which all this while he had concealed and denied upon oath. These Letters were delivered

unto

unto him by Count *Fuentes* and Secretary *Ibarra*, and directed to *Ferrera*. The true Copies of the Letters were these.

From Secretary *Ibarra* to *Stephen Ferrera de Gama*.

“**M**ANOEL TINOCO goeth toward your  
“Worship, and carrieth a Letter of the Earle  
“*Fuentes*, to whom for many respects this Letter  
“shall referre you, and to that which more in par-  
“ticular your Worship shall understand of the  
“said *Tinoco*; who by reason of the conferences  
“and discourses past between us, goeth very well  
“instructed & acquainted of the good forward-  
“nesse and disposition that we have here both to  
“direct and conduct all these affaires, the which  
“in effect come to relie and to be resolved in the  
“will and determinate resolution, with the which  
“your Worship meaneth to imbrace that which  
“standeth with your liking. And doing on your  
“part your indeavour, and that which by your let-  
“ters I am fully perswaded, you may assure your  
“selfe to obtaine all that you may expect of him  
“that can doe so much both to remaine a friend,  
“and to remunerate what good office soever is  
“performed in his service, and so much for the  
“benefit of the world. And you shall find them  
“here that shall assist you therein with all the truth  
“and sincerity that the confidence your Worship  
“hath had in us doth require. *Bruxells* this 14 of  
“*December. 1593.*

A a

From

From the Count Fuentes.

“THE Bearer goeth instructed of that which  
 “here is offered, to informe you thereof by  
 “word of mouth. And for all that, I have thought  
 “good to write these few lines which is all to one  
 “effect. First, if you shall have comodity to goe into  
 “Portugall, as they offered your Worship; let or-  
 “der be taken there, that in comming into Spaine,  
 “you advertise Don Christophoro de Moro where-  
 “soever he be, and to communicate in secret with  
 “him, and to follow the directions which shall be  
 “sent, that you may the better accomplish the ser-  
 “vice of his Majesty; for in so doing we will take  
 “in hand to accomplish with your Worship ac-  
 “cording to your desire.

“The other poynt; that is, of those shaddowes  
 “your Worship speaketh in your Relation, have  
 “been the occasion not to intreat of the commis-  
 “sion. And that you desire to be informed of that  
 “which is offered, you may doe it. And sithence  
 “the principall matter is the service of the King,  
 “& your Worship as a man zealous doth desire it,  
 “consider well before you take in hand your voi-  
 “age, if you can give order therein from thence,  
 “it shall bee better then to discover it with your  
 “going. But this and the whole is referred to him  
 “who is instructed in those affayres, as are these  
 “presents also. And that which aboue all impor-  
 “teth, that you goe thither with the commission,  
 for



"for the profit that is to come therof, and to your  
 "Worship in your particular. And if in this meane  
 "time it shall seeme good that *Bernardo Nunes* and  
 "*Manoel Pays* go to keepe account of that which  
 "hath past their hands, it cannot prejudice your  
 "Worship any thing in your affaires. So much  
 "the rather, if they shall goe in service of his Ma-  
 "jestie, as is their dutie. In the particular of that  
 "young Gentleman it seemeth not convenient to  
 "move any thing till we see the resolution of your  
 "Worship, whom God keepe. From *Bruxels* this  
 "12. of December. 1593.

IN These Letters being first opened, and advised-  
 ly perused by her Maiestie, it did easily appeare  
 to her, that there was greater substance contained  
 in them, then the matters of *Portugall*. Shee did  
 presently note the suspicious rearmes, namely the  
 shadowes, the benefite of the world. And how the  
 Letter from Count *Fuentes* was divided into sever-  
 all parts. First, treating of matters of *Portugall*, then  
 of other matters, which needs must be understood  
 to concerne his Realme. Therefore *Manoel Lays*  
 was by the *Earle* and Sir *Robert Cecil* dealt withall  
 to expound the meaning and secret sense of those  
 Letters. In it appeared by the same, that he was  
 made acquainted with the contents, fully instruct-  
 ed in the blunnet, and sent especially to direct  
 and advance this practise, & to him all things were  
 referred. But he held his mouth so close, and had  
 his lesson so well conned, as a man might easie-  
 ly plucke out his teeth, then the truth by any perswa-  
 sion. It was more folly for him to denie, that hee

was acquainted with the contents. And being further dealt withall, at last he confessed, that he verily thought the service required of the Doctor was a thing horrible to be named, much more to be imagined, and most detestable to be undertaken, to poison her Majestie. And for reasons to induce him to conceive the same, he did alledge that hee knew the Doctor of a Profession (meaning him to be a Jew) to doe the King no service in his Warres, and by the credit with her Majestie and reason of accessse, might easily doe such a villany.

*Manoel Lowys* was removed to the *Gate-house* in *Westminster*, and when he was laid in his bed, all his Cloathes were searched, and among other things were found two Letters of credit in very ample manner without limitation of summe, which being strange and unusuall increased suspicion, and being examined upon them, he said they were given him for fifty crownes that was due to him.

These matters were hitherto caried with great closeness, yet so, that divers wayes some light appeared to descry the foule practise intended. After this many examinations passed, but the greatest light appeared in the examination of *Pedro Ferrera*, the yong man that was the keeper of *Stephen Ferrera*, and by him used to further the intended practise.

*Pedro Ferrera* being examined, among other things confessed, that *Stephen Ferrera* calling this examinee to him, said; *I hold you to bee an honest man, and intend to doe you good, and I doe mean so*

cont-

commits to your trust and secrecie a matter that doth greatly import me, which I intended my selfe to deliver in Spaine. The matter is contained in these Letters: and then hee gave to this examine certaine Letters, one to *Christoforo Moro*, two to *Stephen Ibarra*, the fourth to *Manoel Louys*.

These Letters thus received by this examine, *Ferrera* told him further by mouth: If the Letters which now I expect from *Antwerp* should happen to be taken, I am lost: for the King of Spaine cannot serve mee. And also if the Letters, which I had about me at the time I was taken, had not bene burned, I had bene undone. For in those Letters was the whole resolution taken for the poysoning of the *Queenes* Majestie. He said also, that himselfe and *Lopez* had written into Spaine, and made offer to give the *Queene* poyson.

When this examine perceived that *Ferrera* and *Lopez* had determined the death of the *Queene*, hee asked of *Ferrera*, If you take away the *Queenes* life, what shall become of the King my Master? *Ferrera* answered, that they had heretofore written concerning the King, offering the like for him.

Hee gave also instructions to this examine, to goe in all secrecie to the Low-Countries, and gave him little tickets sent in his letters, which were little square pieces of paper an inch every way: In them was with his owne hand written in some [I] in others [No]. These were to be returned in the Letters from thence, in this sort. If the answers were come out of Spaine for the resolution of the

King and assurance of the money, the little piece of paper wherein [A] was written must be returned inclosed in their letters, though the words of the letter should discourse of other matters: otherwise if the long expected answer were not come, then one of the other square papers must be sent backe included in their letters, wherein was of his owne hand written [No]. Heere was an obscure and new invented cypher found out for so villanous and uncouth a practise, which all the wits of the world could never have discovered without the especiall goodnesse of God, which did guide the faithfull labours diligently employed in this discovery.

*Stephen Ferrera* was removed to the Tower, to be more severely examined: but obstinately denied the maine poynt, yet he confessed that *Andrada* imparted to him the Doctors offer. His confession Febr. 18. 1593. was, that about ten moneths past, Doctor *Ruy Lopez* did write two letters in his owne house in London addressed to *Christoph. de Moro*, the which letters the Doctor did put into the hands of the said *Ferrera*, to cause them to be delivered. The Letters were written by the hand of *Ferrera*, but indited by the mouth and word of Doctor *Lopez*. In which Letter the said Doctor did promise to the King to doe for his services all that which the King should command him. And hee said particularly to the said *Ferrera*, that the King knew already the businesse, and for this regard the Doctor made him write in obscure and covered words, such as *Ferrera* did not well understand.

He

*Stephen Ferrera de Gama.*

He doth beleeye, that if the *King* had sent him money, the Doctor had poysoned the *Queene*. And farther saith, that the Doctor said to him every day, that he was ready to doe the service, but that he had no answer from thence. He remembreth that hee saith to *Peter Ferrera*, that if the King of *Spaine* would send the money, without doubt Doctor *Lopez* would poyson the *Queene*. Hee saith, that *Manoel de Andrada* about a moneth before he went out of *England*, did declare to him, that if the King of *Spaine* would, Doctor *Lopez* would poyson the *Queene* of *England*, and the King *Don Antonio* also. The speech used by *Andrada*, *Stephen Ferrera* did communicate to Doctor *Lopez* neere to the doore of his garden. Wherunto the Doctor answered: As for the King, he shall die with the first sicknesse which shall happen to him: but for the *Queene*, we have no answer yet from the other side.

The knot of these Treasons they had bound with oathes, secret conveyance, strange cipher, and all close carrying for a time. But when *Ferrera* saw a resolution as peremptory to exact the truth, as his denials were obstinate to conceale it, hee would faine have indented with the Earle, and craved his Lordships hand and promise, and thereupon he did offer to confesse: but the Earle would admit no condition, but willed him to yeeld where resistance would not prevaile. Then hee seeing himselfe so hardly followed, did at the length yeeld, and acknowledge that the confession of *Pedro Ferrera* was true. Hee confessed also, that  
hec

he had seene the two Letters of Exchange, which *Manoel Lowys* brought with him, and saith that he never saw so large Letters, and that upon them as much money might be taken up as they would demand: and that he belceeveth that if the Doctor had seene those Letters, he would have poysoned her Majestie: That the Letter which *Gomes d'Avila* brought to *Stephen Ibarra*, was written by himselfe the said *Ferrera* with the consent of the Doctor. In which letter he did advertise the said *Ibarra* that Doctor *Lopez* said, If hee might have fiftie thousand crownes given him, hee was content, and would undertake to poyson the *Queene of England*. And said, that the said Letter was written in the house and lodging of the said *Lopez* at *London*, in the moneth of *September* last And that after he had written that letter, he did impart to Doctor *Lopez* what was written, and how hee had sent the Letter by *Gomes d'Avila*. And hee saith, that the Doctor said often to him, that hee wondred that the money and answere came not, and that hee was ready, if the answere and money came, to poyson the *Queene*, and that hee would goe live at *Constantinople*. Thus much *Stephen Ferrera*.

*Manoel Lowys.*

After this was *Manoel Lowys* re-examined, *Febr.*,  
 " 22. 1593. and confessed, I *Manoel Lowys* confesse,  
 " that Count *Fuentes*, and Secretary *Ibarra* cal-  
 " led me to the Cabinet of the Court. And both  
 " of them together either of them for his owne  
 " part tooke my hands putting them within their  
 " owne, and told mee that before they would de-  
 clare

“clare unto me a certaine busines of great impor-  
“tance, thou must give unto us thy faith and ho-  
“mage to keep it secret. That although thou hap-  
“pen to bee taken there of the *English*, thou shalt  
“not discover this secret, because it importeth the  
“quietnesse of *Christendome*. And after I had given  
“them my word and faith with all fidelitie and  
“service in such an affaire, they told me. *Stephen*  
“*Ferrera de Gama* hath written to us, how that  
“*Doctor Lopez* hath offered and bound him selfe  
“to kill the *Queen of England* with poyson, upon  
“condition that the King of *Spaine* should recom-  
“pense his services according to the qualitie of  
“them. And because it importeth much, I should  
“tell *Stephen Ferrera*, that the Ambassage being  
“given him, he should give order for this busines,  
“and bring the newes him selfe, or else that pre-  
“sently with my proper Letter I should aduertise  
“them what Merchants friends of confidence *Do-*  
““*ctor Lopez* had in *Antwerpe*, for to give order by  
“them to send him the Commission hee desired.  
“And a letter that I brought was nothing els, but  
“to this purpose, to shew the same to *Doctor Lo-*  
““*pez* and *Francis Caldera*. Who also looked for  
“intertainment to concurre with the advices that  
“they should get out of these parts. When I was  
“to passe the Port, in truth I made these remem-  
“brances. And the cause I did not discover those  
“things afore this time, was my faith, word and  
“oath, which I had given to Count *Fuentes* and  
“*Stephen Ibarra*. All which passed in the Citie  
“of *Bruxells*, in the house of Count *Fuentes*, and as



"farre as I can remember, it was the ninth day of  
 "December last. All this I certifie to have passed  
 "in great truth and certaintie, and so I affirme it  
 "under mine oath.

When *Lowys* had confessed thus much, shortly  
 after voluntarily he set downe under his hand, and  
 sent it to Sir *Robert Cecil*, this enlargement of his  
 confession.

*Manoel Lowys.*

"I *Manoel Lowys*, a Gentleman of *Portugall*, doe  
 "confesse that it is true, that being in *Bruxels*, in  
 "the house of Count *Fuentes*, he caused me to be  
 "called for, and demanded of me of what quali-  
 "tie and Countrey *Andrada* was. And after that  
 "I had told him all that I knew of him, hee com-  
 "manded his Secretary to shew me all the Letters  
 "that *Andrada* had written to him from *Calais*.  
 "Hee shewed mee three Letters. In the first hee  
 "signified that he was come from *England*, where  
 "hee had been a prisoner a long time; And that  
 "hee was sent by order from Doctor *Lopez* (who  
 "was a man very zealous and friendly to the ser-  
 "vice of the King of *Castile*.) Seeing the great  
 "robberies, hurts, and losses which the Queene  
 "of *England* caused to be committed by her sub-  
 "jects, he was determined to doe the King such a  
 "piece of service, as thereby he might with great  
 "safetie satisfie himselfe of the *English* Nation.  
 "But so as the King should recompence his ser-  
 "vices with honours and favours according to  
 "the qualitie thereof. For he was old and many  
 "wayes indebted, and would now find rest for his  
 "old age. And declaring the qualitie of the ser-  
 ice,

“vice, he told him that Doctor *Lopez* bound him-  
“selfe to dispatch the Queene with poyson.  
“Wherefore it behooved him to advertise the  
“King of *Spaine* thereof with all speed. And he  
“would attend at *Callais*, untill the answer come  
“from *Madrid*. In the other two letters he deman-  
“ded answer, wondring that the King caused not  
“order to bee given for the effecting of this busi-  
“nesse being of so great importance. And ere we  
“had read over these Letters, the Count came in,  
“and told me that he had received a Letter from  
“the King, wherein he advertised him that he an-  
“swered not directly to the busines whereof *An-*  
“*drada* had given intelligence, because he had no  
“good opinion of him. Especially because *Ste-*  
“*phen Ferrera de Gama* had written nothing there-  
“of; And seeing I was in *Bruxels* he should learne  
“of me if I knew anything of the matter. I answer-  
“red him, that I knew no such thing, and that I  
“thought *Steph Ferrera* was not acquainted there-  
“with, because hee had told me nothing thereof.  
“I prayed leave of the Count that I might en-  
“quire further of *Andrada*, who at this present  
“was come to *Antwerpe*. Who gave me leave to  
“doe so, and that I should also let him know. I  
“had seene his letters which he had written from  
“*Callais* to the Count *Fuentes*. Meeting therefore  
“with *Andrada*, I imparted these things to him.  
“And demanded of him if *Stephen Ferrera* were  
“acquainted therewith. He swaie unto me that the  
“Doctor would trust no man therein but him. I  
“told him the king of *Spaine* would give no credit

"to his Letters, because hee saw no Letter from  
 "Stephen Ferrera, to assure him of the Doctors  
 "good will. And therefore it behooved him to  
 "write to him, that hee must trust Ferrera there-  
 "with, and impart to him his intention. Where-  
 "upon hee sent his servant John with Letters to  
 "the Lord Treasurer. Wherein hee gave adver-  
 "tisement of certaine publike newes. Whereby  
 "I conceive that the Doctor was constrained to  
 "declare this matter to Stephen Ferrera. Where-  
 "upon hee sent Gomes d' Avila, who came at such  
 "time, as the next day the Post departed for  
 "Spain. By which meanes the order came from  
 "the King, wherewith the Count sent me, decla-  
 "ring to me all this negotiation of Doctor Lopez  
 "in the same manner as I have confessed; Telling  
 "me many other matters of Credence, which I  
 "was to deale in with Ferrera; that the Doctor  
 "might bee maintained in his purpose; Remem-  
 "bring him that he had daughters to marry, and  
 "that the King would bestow them, and honour  
 "them; And that hee should dispatch with speed.  
 "For he had order from the King to give whatso-  
 "ever he required. And therefore he should con-  
 "sider what Merchants in Antwerpe hee had for  
 "friends; that by them hee might receive saris-  
 "faction. And should be carefull to give the King  
 "a merry Easter, advertising him of the time when  
 "he intended to put the matter in execution. For  
 "so it behooved. And that the Doctor should be  
 "more earnest therein, they gave mee a Letter  
 "which Stephen Ferrera should shew him, telling  
 him

him that he should be of good courage: for see  
 here the Letter: and if you will have money,  
 here is *Manoel Lowys* that shall goe fetch it; And  
 if you wil not have it from *Antwerp*, tell me your  
 mind, & let me have answer. Which letter was  
 only to incourage him, & not to any other effect;  
 for *Andrada* had told them before, that the Do-  
 ctor was determined upon dispatch of the busi-  
 nes to go to *Antwerp*, and that he would have no  
 money made over into *England*. So this Letter  
 was only to incourage him. And I would to God  
 the money could bee gotten by it, there should  
 want no diligence in mee. For I want neither  
 good will to doe it, nor desire to doe some such  
 service from henceforward, as may make recom-  
 pence for the euil service I have done: Which I  
 confesse, and with most obedient submission doe  
 humbly desire pardon. Submitting my selfe to  
 the *Queenes Highnesse*, and to the noble mind and  
 good inclination of *your Honour*, and of my Lord  
 the *Earle of Essex*; Assuring *your Honour*, that all  
 these things set down in this confession are very  
 true, and for such I signe them with my hand in  
 this prison where I remaine.

*Manoel Lowys Tinoco.*

After this *Steph. Ferrera* enlarged his confession,  
 which was to the same purpose, declaring that Do-  
 ctor *Ruy Lopez* was zealously bent to do the King  
 of *Spaine* that great service to pay for the *Qacene*  
 of *England*.

Here upon Doctor *Lopez* was examined againe.

For being once before examined in the Tower, he answered with oathes and execrations and imprecations upon him, if ever he intended any evill against Queene *Elizabeth*. For I love Queene *Elizabeth*, said he, better then I love Iesus Christ. Some beleeved that therein he said truly; for he was a Jew. But now after these confessions of those *Portugals*, the Doctor was againe exhorted to confesse so apparant, revealed, and acknowledged a truth. And had that favour shewed him, as these two persons were confronted with him; Who did not only avow their confessions to his face, but very earnestly advised him to stand no longer obstinately in deniall of that which they two, his confederates, had delivered. And further voluntarily did offer to affirme that which they had set downe upon their corporall oathes. But the Doctor, like a perfidious renegade, most irreligiously forswore the whole accusation.

Report being made hereof to her Majestie, and the plainnesse of the matter appearing so evidently in the whole course of the examinations taken; and one thing most notably to be observed, how *Ferrera* and *Lowys*, the one remaining on this side, and the other on the other side of the Sea, and alwayes kept assunder, & in places distant untill that very time, did concur in all points, circumstances, and matters fully and wholly: It was thought meet that the Doctor should once againe be dealt withall, and admonished to bethinke himselfe to take a more Christian and honest course. Her Majestie therefore appoynted the Earle of *Essex*, the Lord

Lord *Admirall*, and *Sr Robert Cecil* to repaire to the Tower, and if he were not altogether gracelesse to perswade him to bethinke himselfe.

Being called before their *Honours*, and with grave and milde perswasions exhorted not to aggravate so foule offences with impudent and fruitlesse denials, against the testimony of those which were acquainted with the whole course of his treasons, the one by him heere, the other by them on the other side, and thereby also condemning and accusing themselves: he stil fell to his byace, kneeled downe very solemnly, lifting up his hands, his eyes, and countenance toward heaven, besought God (in what sort I am loth to say) *to beare vengeance upon him and his here, and in the world to come, if there were any such thing &c.* Being dealt withall in particulars, and shewed the agreement of those persons concurring with the Letters and all the circumstances: he was at a stay, and very beastly said, he could not tell what to say, *unlesse hee might being drunke use such speeches.* It was told him he was not so overshot, but he could when hee came to himselfe remember what had passed in a matter of that quality. Then he made new protestations, *be never meant any such thing.* It was told him that was not the question. But whether hee had any speeches or conference of any such matter. Whether did *Ferrera* write in such sort to make that offer? Then he stuck not to say *Ferrera might write so*, and hee did let him write what he list, and so by like difficulty he before had used went on untill he had confessed all as followeth.

*Febru-*

February 25. 1593.

Doctor *Lopez* being advised to declare the truth of the practise and speech that passed betweene him and *Steph. Ferrera* about the poysoning of the *Queene*, doth confesse for discharge of his conscience, that such speeches passed betweene *Ferrera* and this Examinee at his house in *London*. And saith, that after *Ferrera* had written to the Secretary *Ibarra*, to assure him that the said *Lopez* was willing, and did offer to poyson the *Queene*, so he might have the 50000 crownes; The said *Ferrera* did acquaint the said *Lopez*, that he had written in such sort to the Secretary *Ibarra*, and sent the Letters to him by *Gomes d'Avila*, but he doth protest that he never meant to doe it. But he doth affirme that *Ferrera* meant verily that her Majestie should be destroyed with poyson in a Syrrup. Which he said, because this examinee knew that her Maiesty did never use to take any Syrrup.

Hee confesseth further, that *Ferrera* told him there should one come in fashion of a Mariner that should bring the value of 50000 crownes in Rubies and Diamonds. And hee saith also that it cannot bee chosen, but the King of *Spaine* was acquainted with this matter. For the money should have come from the King of *Spaine*. He doth further confesse, that *Steph. Ferrera* told this Examinee, that if hee would offer to the Count *Fuentes* this great service to poison her Majesty, he should be sure he should want no money. And hereupon hee was content that *Ferrera* should write to the said



said Count *Fuentes*, or the Secretary *Ibarra* to assure them, that the said Doctor would undertake to poyson her Majestie. But hee saith, when the money was come, hee meant to have brought the same to her Majesty, and to have told her what the King of *Spaine* had sent him to poyson her Majestie. And he saith further, he would have told her Majestie of it long since, but for feare of jealousie her Majestie might have conceived thereby. And the said Doctor *Lopez* doth further confesse, hee did often use to say to *Stephen Ferrera*, when will the money come? If the money were come, hee was ready to doe the service. He confesseth also, that hee did first breake this matter to *Andrada*, of the poysoning of her Maiestie, to abuse the King of *Spaine*. And did give him charge to declare so much from him to the Secretary *Ibarra* and the Count *Fuentes*. And afterwards perceiving that *Andrada* had told this secret to *Steph. Ferrera*, the said Doctor doth answer that he did acquaint, and had conference with *Stephen Ferrera*, of the same. And all this his confession he protesteth to be true, and to containe the very truth.

*Roger Lopez.*

Thus farre was this wild beast traced. A bare and silly excuse the traitour had onely to pretend. And for my part (saith the *Collector* of these examinations) I doe from the bottome of my heart thanke God, that this onely refuge was left him, to say, (the plot being prevented and failing in the execution) it was not meant and purposed in the  
C c intention;

intention; because it was undone. And God in his mercy grant that such wicked conspiracies against our Sovereigne the Lords Anointed, may alwaies bee so foreseene and prevented, that the wicked contrivers may never by the event and sequent be charged, but by the intent and practise. Which hath been evidently manifested in this cause, by over many overt acts.

These three conspirators having now confessed these lothsome treasons, *Manoel Lowys* was further required to declare the true sense of the Letters he sent by *Gomes d' Avila*, which he willingly did under his owne hand in this sort.

xxvj. Februarij. 1593.

This Letter which I wrote to *Stephen Ferrera* by *Gomes D' Avila*, concerning the poynt which speaketh of *Pearles* and the price of them, was to give him to understand, that the *Newes* which hee had sent, (how that the *Doctor would kill the Queene*) was very gladly accepted, and much esteemed of the Count *Fuentes* and of *Ibarra*. And touching the poynt which concerneth the *Muske* and *Amber*, the Count *Fuentes* told mee that hee did looke for a *Resolution* from the King of great importance, and when it came, there should bee a great matter. Which I did understand, that hee did determine to send or procure to burne the *Queenes Shippes*, and to kill *Antonio Perez*, of whom they have great feare. For they feare that hee should discover all the secrets which hee knoweth.

knoweth, which are many. Seeing no man knew more secrets of the King then he.

Hee was in like manner to expound the letters from Count *Fuentes* and Secretary *Ibarra*, which he did in this sort. Concerning the poynt of the letter from *Ibarra*, and the promises which in his off<sup>r</sup> *Ferrera* made, it is meant of the death of the *Queene*, whereof should arise great service to the King, and to the benefit of the whole world. Touching the second poynt of the letter of Count *Fuentes*: By the commission is understood the death of the *Queene*. And concerning the poynt which importeth the going thither with the commission for the fruit that shall come of it, is to give free order for the death of the *Queene*. And to give to understand, that *Ferrera* thinking good to advertise by me in what termes the businesse stood, and hee being determined to remaine heere, the Earle would send mee into *Spaine* by posts to give account of all things to the King of *Castile*. Concerning the busines of the *Dollors* determination, it imported much to know, if it were possible, the very day of the execution of his promises, telling me moreover that I should tell *Steph. Ferrera*, that he should procure to bring certaine knowledge of all those things I have spoken of, viz. of the *Isle of Wight*, of the ships of the *Downes* &c. For at that very instant the King of *Spaine* purposed to cause the *Queenes* ships to be burned, and to surprise the *Isle of Wight*. Telling me that these things were of great importance for the service of the King of *Spaine*. But that it was convenient to handle all

with that secreſie, that this voyage might not bee knowne.

This Narration concerning *Lopez* containeth things of much obſervation, and diſſereth much from the other practiſes which were attempted. Though this ſecret practiſe of poyſoning hath beene attempted by others beſides *Lopez*, as by *Squire* and others. The villany of *Lopez* was very deepe, But he ſaid he meant no harme. The miniſters of the *Spaniſh* King, and the King himſelfe was acquainted with it, and gave directions in it: The money muſt be ready, fifty thouſand crowns; this money he would not have to be brought into *England*, for ſo *Lopez* gave eſpeciall charge hee would receive it at *Antwerpe*, not in *England*: And yet the *Iew* meant no harme. For he would, ſaith hee, have brought the money to Queene *Elizabeth*. But when himſelfe had given order that the money ſhould not come into *England*, but he readie at *Antwerpe*, how could hee bring it to the Queene? Word muſt bee brought to the *Spaniſh* King, of the very day wherein the poyſon was to bee given, that hee might rejoyce in the wickedneſſe, and have his armies ready to invade ſome part of the land, and deſtroy the ſhips. The King of *Spaine* was much fallen from that ſhew of courage which he made ſhew of in 88. For then hee came openly like a King, but now hee ſought to come in by ſtealth; Not to *Winne*, but to *Steale* a Kingdome. Which in former times hath beene the *Caſtilian* practiſe. But the proper obſervation of this place is the meanes whereby this practiſe was

was to bee wrought, that is, by *poysoning* of *Queene Elizabeth*, the most *unkingly*, the most *unmanly* resolution that could enter into the heart of a King, or of another man. And yet the King of *Spaine* may seeme in some sort to be excused. For what can a *Popish* Prince doe, but follow the common examples and practises of them, to whose counsell and advice hee hath given himselfe over wholly to bee governed? This practise of *poysoning* is one of those finnes which the *Popes* have brought into their Church. For it hath bene most commonly most ungraciously practised by *Popes*. Especially after *Sylvester* was made *Pope*. After that time the *Papacie* was long oppressed with such as commonly practised *Sorceries* and *Poysoning*. For this is a thing generally observed both in the writings of the holy Scripture, and in humane Authors, that *Poysoning*, *Witchcraft*, and *Sorcerie* are commonly reckoned finnes of one kind. And therefore *עַמְּסָרִים* and *עַמְּסָרִי*, which properly signifieth a *Poysoner*, *Veneficus*, is commonly taken for a *Sorcerer*. And is numbred up among those finnes, *Deut. 18.* for which finnes *Moses* saith, *The Lord did cast out those Nations before Israel.* That which in the *Hebrewe* in that place, is *עַמְּסָרִי* the *Septuagint* hath *εμψικος*, the common *Latine* Translation hath *Maleficus*, others *Veneficus*. In *English* it is commonly translated a *Sorcerer*. But this *Sorcery* is understood *Poysoning*. This then was one of those finnes for which the Lord did cast out the *Canaanites* out of that land. And therefore they, who with an ungracious

*Deut. 18, 18.*  
*Maleficus*

boldnesse doe practise such sinnes, may justly expect the like judgements of God to cast them out of their land, how firmly soever they may seeme to be confirmed in their habitations.

Now as this was one of the sinnes which threw out the Nations before *Israel*, so it is in the New Testament reckoned among the sinnes of the Church of *Antichrist*. Saint *Iohn* recounteth the principall sinnes of that Synagogue, *Idolatry*, *murder*, *sorcerie*, *fornication*, and *theft*. And he declareth then when the Iudgements of God had scourged them for their sinnes, yet they repented not. His words; *They repented not of the workes of their hands, that they should not worship devills, and idols of gold, and of silver, and of brasse, and of stone, and of wood, which neither can see, neither heare, nor gae. Also they repented not of their murders, and of their sorcerie, neither of their fornication, nor of their theft.*

Apoc. 9. 10, 11.

My purpose is not now to expound the place at large; neither is it fit for my present intention. But all understanding men may see how the sinnes of the present Church of *Rome* are deciphered, as if they were drawn with a *Pensill*.

That which we translate *Sorcery*, is in the Original, *εμψυχομαχία*, that is, *poysoning*. And is not this a great matter, that the practise of poysoning, which is so branded in the Scripture, as a kind of *Sorcerie* and *Witch-craft*, or *Necromancie*, and so reckoned among profane Authors, and had ever in detestation, even of the Heathens themselves, who were guided by the light of nature

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ture onely: That such a sinne should be practised with boldnes, is not this a matter to bee wondered at: The *Spaniards*, that are found more bold in the practise of this sinne than others, learned this devillish lesson of their Masters of *Rome*. For what other things can they learne of them, but such things as they see them commonly practise: Nay, the Masters of that *Synagogue* stay not in the practise therof, they *professe* it, they *teach* it for doctrines. For they are run so farre in these depths of *Sathan*, that some of them are not ashamed to *teach*, that a *Prince* which they call an *Heretike*, may bee taken away by *poysson*.

And have not these men proceeded well in the devils schoole: Then we see from what fountaine these practises of *poysoning* proceed. It cometh from the *Papish* Doctors: But let them know, and let all the world know, that they may as well justify the destruction of a *Prince* by *Sorcery* or *Witchcraft*, as by *Poison*. But happily these men will not shooke at that. Here we may behold the great and just Judgements of God, that suffereth them, who have forsaken the love of the truth, to runne so desperately, and to fall into the bottome of vile affections: To teach such things for doctrines as are so expressly forbidden in Gods Word: to justify and maintaine such signes, for which God threateth to cast out the maintainers and practisers thereof from among men: It is not our part to judge when the finnes of the Church of *Rome* are ripe, that God may bring upon them that destruction which he hath threatned in Scriptures;



tures; but this we see, that if they be not yet come to the full ripening, they draw very neere it; that we leave to God. And wee doe from our hearts blesse the Name of God, that hath delivered our Princes and Church from these horrible practises. And our hope is, that the same God will ever deliver us from every wicked way.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Squire carried into Spaine, made knowne to R. Walpool a Iesuite; who perceiving that hee had some employment about the Queenes Stable, and finding him to be a resolved Papist, thought he might be a fit instrument by whom to worke mischief. Whereupon he breaks with him, first to kill the Earle of Essex; and then to poison the Pommell of the Queenes Saddle. He makes him vow to doe it in confession, then hee confirms him in his vow with his benediction, then hee directs him how to dispose of the poison by certaine instructions. Thus Squire addresses himselfe to England, layes the poison on the Pommell of the Queenes Saddle, as hee was taught, a little before shee was to take horse; but Gods providence intervening, quite destroyeth the vertue of the poison, that it did no hurt. This treason was detected by the tainting of Walpool; who imparted it to some English fugitives, in whom a great expectation being raised, when they see nothing come of it, they made a construction that Squire had been false to them. Hereupon they accuse Squire of treason: upon their accusation Squire is examined, and by ventilation of some cir-

cum-

circumstances, the whole plot of Walpoo and practise of Squire is discovered; nor without Gods working, who made their owne tongues tell out their shame. Yea their owne tongues did make them fall, and all men that see it, did say, This hath God done; for they did perceive that it was his worke.



*Squires practise to poyson the Queene.*



IN the yeere 1596, the English Fleet went to Calles. About this time another ungracious plot was discovered in a strange manner. The relation therof came to my hands lately, written by an English Gentleman, to another English Gentleman his friend remaining then at Padua. And printed by Christopher

1596.

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*Stephen Barker, Anno 1599.* Printer to the *Queenes* Majestie. The Copie is rare to bee found; and worthy to be preserved. And therefore fit to be set downe here in this place. The relation followeth thus.

" Sir, I thanke you for your Relation of *Fer-*  
 " *vera*; and to make you payment in the like com-  
 " modities, I returne to you a true report of a  
 " fresh accident of State, happened here with us;  
 " memorable for the strangenesse of the matter;  
 " and the great signification it carryeth with it of  
 " *Gods* extraordinary and most visible providence;  
 " but otherwise worthy to be damned to perpetu-  
 " all oblivion, as well for the detestable nature of  
 " the fact, as yet more (if more were possible) for  
 " the impietie of the perswasions, such as I assure  
 " you, a man ought to make scruple to infame the  
 " times, or infect mens cogitations with the repe-  
 " tition of it, were it not that these workes of  
 " darknesse are framed and forged in such a deepe  
 " vault of hypocrisie, as there is more danger that  
 " they should be unrevealed or unbeleeued, then  
 " that being brought to cleare light, they should  
 " provoke an imitation in any, of that which is so  
 " odious and foule.

" And this Sir you may beleeve, that as I have  
 " had good meanes to informe my selfe to the full,  
 " of that which passed in this matter, & the truth  
 " of all the particulars, as well those which were  
 " opened at the arraignment of *Edward Squire*,  
 " one of the offenders, as those which were reser-  
 " ved, so I have set downe this Narration, rather  
 abridged

“ abridged of some circumstances, then any waies  
“ amplified or enlarged.

“ This *Squire* dwelt in *Greenwich* divers yeeres,  
“ and tooke upon him the practise of a *Scrivener*,  
“ yet rather as a helpe to maintaine himselfe for a  
“ time, then that he bare a minde to settle in that  
“ trade. He obtained also before his going to Sea,  
“ for some two yeeres space, an imploiment about  
“ the *Queenes* Stable, by way of deputation to one  
“ *Kates* a Purveyor of those provisions. But being  
“ of a wit above his vocation; disliked with that  
“ condition of life, and put himselfe into action by  
“ Sea, in the last voyage *St Francis Drake* made in-  
“ to the *Indies*; in which voiage it was his hap, that  
“ the *Francis* (a small Barke wherein he went) was  
“ scattered from the Fleet about *Gnadalespe*, and ta-  
“ ken by five Spanish Frigors. And so was *Squire*  
“ brought prisoner into *Spain*, where soone after  
“ he was set at libertie.

“ Not long after his enlargement, hee became  
“ knowne to *Richard Walpoole* an English fugitive,  
“ and by Order a *Iesuite*, a man of principall cre-  
“ dit there, and a kinde of Vicar generall to *Par-*  
“ sons in his absence. This *Walpoole* carying a wa-  
“ king and wayting eye, upon those of our Na-  
“ tion, to discover and single out fit instruments  
“ for the greatest treasons, observed this *Squire*,  
“ found him a man of more then ordinarie sense  
“ and capacitie, for his qualitie and education;  
“ found him a man that had passed his middle age,  
“ well advised and yet resolved enough, and not  
“ apprehensive at all of dangers; ( for I doe af-

" firme this unto you, that never man answered  
 " upon his tryall for life and death, with lesse per-  
 " turbation, nay scarcely with any alteration, as if  
 " he understood not his perill and calamitie; and  
 " yet as sensible for speech, as insensible for passi-  
 " on. But besides the disposition and temper of  
 " the man, *Walpoole* discerned in him two condi-  
 " ons of speciall advantage. The one, that com-  
 " ming into *Spaine* a prisoner, and not a fugitive,  
 " his returne into *England* would be subject to lesse  
 " suspition: The other, that he understood, *Squire*  
 " had formerly had some attendance about the  
 " *Queenes Stable*, which hee straight caught hold  
 " of, as an opportunity.

" Yet neverthelesse, the better to prepare him,  
 " and worke him to his purpose, and the better al-  
 " so to give colour, (when *Squire* should returne  
 " into *England*) that he was a man that had suffe-  
 " red in *Spaine* for his conscience; subrilly he com-  
 " passed, that upon a quarrell picked, *Squire* was  
 " put into the *Inquisition*. By this meanes, when he  
 " had got his heart into his hands, mollified by  
 " distresse, and became secure of him, that he was  
 " a fixed and resolved Papist.

" After probation and preparation sufficient, he  
 " began to open himselfe unto him; and first for in-  
 " troduction, fell into the ordinary burden or song,  
 " of that kinde of people, touching the tyrannies  
 " and persecutions exercised heere in *England* a-  
 " gainst Catholiques; though Sir, you know very  
 " well, the distinction and moderation of the pro-  
 " ceedings here in Ecclesiasticall causes, with what

lenitie

lenitie, and gentlenes, it hath been caried, except where it was mixed with matter of state, for else I would gladly learne, what should make the difference betweene the temper of the Lawes in the first yeere of the *Queene*, and in 23. or 27. but that at the one time, they were *Papists* in conscience, and at the other they were growne *Papists* in faction; or what should make the difference at this day in Lawe, betweene a *Queene Marie* Priest, and a *Seminarie* Priest, save that the one is a Priest of superstition, and the other is a Priest of sedition. But to the purpose; After the *Iesuite* had at sundry conferēces discoursed his pleasure of the miseries of Catholikes here in *England*, and of the slanders of the government, and upon how few persons lives, the state here did stand; and *Squire* on the other side, (who wanted no wit to perceive which way he was led) had first made some signification, and after some more serious and vehement protestation of his minde and devotion to doe service to the cause: when the wicked Frier saw he was gotten into the true circle, he began to charme; & yet not having the power to sal upon the highest point first, without a gradation or bridge, *It were no doubt* (saith he) *an act very meritorious to kill the Earle of Essex, but Vnum necessarium, One thing is necessary.* And having kept him in suspence a while, brake with him plainly, & told him that he would put a service into his hands, that he might execute and accomplish without any evident perill of his life, because it was to be done, what time the *Queene*

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her

" her selfe should not bee in presence; ( which I  
 " thinke hee spake as having heard that which is  
 " very true, of some conspirators, that having un-  
 " dertaken and vowed her Majesties destruction,  
 " have neverthelesse at the very instant of the ac-  
 " cesse and opportunitie, been stricken with alto-  
 " nishment, and had no power to execute their  
 " malice. Nay further he said, that he should not  
 " need to feare, in the doing thereof to bee seene  
 " or observed by any persons of care or judgment,  
 " but such as might bee easily conversed withall  
 " without suspition: And it was the empoysom-  
 " ment of the pommell of the Queenes Saddle, at  
 " such time as she should ride abroad; her Majestie  
 " being like to rest her hand thereupon for a good  
 " time together, and not unlike for her hand to  
 " come often about her face, mouth, and nostrils;  
 " and this by reason of his former acquaintance  
 " & service about the Stable, he thought he might  
 " easily performe and safely; And yet hee said,  
 " *If imminent death should ensue thereupon, hee might*  
 " *not accompt of it, as being assured that hee should*  
 " *exchange his present state, with the state of a glori-*  
 " *ous Saint in heaven.* Vnto which accursed pro-  
 " position after that *Squire* had assented, then did  
 " the Fryer use all diligence to confirme and bind  
 " him to resolution and performance. And to that  
 " ende, at sundrie confessions tooke his vow and  
 " promise to be constant; causing him to receive  
 " the Sacrament upon it; renewed his devillish  
 " perswasions, varying them in all formes to be-  
 " siege his minde and cogitations, that hee might  
 find

“ find no way to get out of this wicked purpose ;  
“ Telling him *that he stood now in the state of damna-*  
“ *tion, if he did not his uttermost endeavour to performe*  
“ *his vow.* And bid him remember *how that sinne*  
“ *did seldome obtaine pardon ; and if hee did but once*  
“ *make doubt of the lawfulnessse or merit of the act , it*  
“ *was enough to cast him headlong downe into hell.* And  
“ if he did cast any difficulties or terrors, he wish-  
“ ed him to consider , *What it did availle a man to*  
“ *winne the whole world, and to leese his owne soule.* So  
“ as now *Squire* must not descend into himselfe,  
“ he must make no objections, cast no doubts; but  
“ the eyes of his understanding blinded and sealed  
“ up, he must only contemplate upon these vowes  
“ and adjurations. And for a conclusion and finall  
“ benediction of this most execrable plot, *Squire*  
“ kneeling before *Walpoole* at confession, hee lifted  
“ him up , hugged him about the necke with his  
“ left arme (such were *Squires* owne words ) and  
“ crossing him with the other hand after some  
“ words numbled in Latin, said distinctly to him  
“ in English, *God blesse thee and give thee strength my*  
“ *sonne; be of good courage, I pawne my soule for thine,*  
“ *and thou shalt have my prayers dead and alive.* And  
“ upon this imbracement and inchantment , this  
“ desperate wretch and this blasphemous Exorcist  
“ parted for that time.

“ Then doth he give him full instructions for the  
“ disposing of this poyson; shewing him that hee  
“ should receive it in a double bladder, and when  
“ it should bee used , hee was to pricke the blad-  
“ der full of holes upon the upper part, and so to  
“ caric

"cary it within the palme of his hand with a thick  
 "glove for the safeguard of his hand: and in the  
 "instant when it was to bee applyed; hee should  
 "turne it in his hand the upside down, & so presse  
 "it hard vpon the pommel of the saddle: telling  
 "him further of the nature of it, That it would  
 "lye and tarry long where it was laid; and that it  
 "would not bee checked by the ayre. And lastly  
 "upon his comming away delivered him the con-  
 "fection it selfe, in such a bladder as was before  
 "described.

"This was the true manner of the subornation  
 "of *Edward Squire*, by *Richard Walpole*, as it was  
 "confessed by the same *Squire* almost in the same  
 "words, as well for the perswasions as for the in-  
 "structions. Which confession I doe affirme unto  
 "you upon knowledge, was delivered without  
 "torture or shew of torture: and was roundly and  
 "sensibly uttered with all circumstances of a cre-  
 "dible narration, for that part which concerneth  
 "the manner of the empysonment: and for that  
 "part which concerneth the manner of the per-  
 "swasion, was set down by an advised declaration  
 "under his own hand, and the same as farre as hi-  
 "therto wee have gone, was maintained and con-  
 "firmed, and in no point retracted or disavowed,  
 "either at his triall, or at his death.

"It seemes also that *Walpole* in some of his con-  
 "ferences did insist upon the impysonment of  
 "the Earle of *Essex*, the rather to defeat the voy-  
 "age by Sea, then expected, (for these things past  
 "about May, 1597.) So as *Squire* conceived it,  
 there

“there could be no one thing more acceptable in  
“the second degree.

“Now after that *Squire* had received both poy-  
“sons, as well the spirituall poyson of wicked re-  
“solution, as the materiall within the bladders;  
“and that *Walpoole* had interlaced some promise  
“to him of rewards and comforts, besides those  
“of the other world, and had schooled him for se-  
“crecie, which he made to be parcell of his vowe,  
“there rested onely his dispatch for *England*.  
“Whereunto to give an apt colour, it was devised  
“that there should bee a permutation treated by  
“the meanes of a Chanon in *Cruil* of two *Spanish*  
“prisoners here, taken at *Cales*, friends of the said  
“Chanon, for *Squire* and *Rowls* now prisoners in  
“the Tower, who came over with him, whereby  
“it might be carried farre off from suspition, that  
“*Squire* did not retorne as a man employed, but  
“upon that private occasion. According to which  
“project he was sent away conveniently money-  
“ed, that hee might be the better in heart, and yet  
“not so abundantly as might make him love his  
“life too well, and to goe away with his fare qui-  
“etly, though indeed there were more money  
“stirring, but not in that hand.

“And being arrivd heere in *England* about a  
“fortnight before the *Earles* setting forth toward  
“the Islands, hee did addresse himselfe to a Coun-  
“celler of estate heere, both to shew himselfe to  
“the end to avoid suspition, and with pretence al-  
“so of some advertisements, to the end to win the  
“better opinion and trust; and finding his com-

“ ming wel cōceived of according to his desire, he  
 “ did craftily & subtilly devise with himselfe, that  
 “ if he could finde any opportunity to execute his  
 “ purpose before the *Earle* went, (supposing that  
 “ the poyson could not work but in space of time)  
 “ it would be more security for him to be absent,  
 “ & in the voyage, lest percase some suspicious to-  
 “ kens of poyson appearing, somewhat might fall  
 “ out (upon such diligent Inquisition as in such a  
 “ case were like to bee made) to be discovered a-  
 “ gainst him; and therefore made his meanes to go  
 “ with the *Earle* in his ship, and obtained his sute.  
 “ So as now making his reckoning to have the pe-  
 “ rill upon his backe, he did but watch his time.

“ And it pleased God for the manifestation of  
 “ his glory, that the Munday sevensnight next after  
 “ *Squires* comming home out of *Spaine*, he under-  
 “ stood that the horses were making ready for her  
 “ Majesties riding abroad. Whereupon, full of those  
 “ evill spirits wherewith so many exorcismes had  
 “ possessed him, he came into the stableyard where  
 “ her Majesties horse stood ready saddled, and in a  
 “ familiar and cheerefull maner, in the hearing of  
 “ divers that stood therby, having all things ready  
 “ according to his instructions, hee layed his hand  
 “ upon the pummell of the Saddle, & said, *God save*  
 “ *the Queene*, (Wherein it pleased God to take his  
 “ words and not his meaning) and bruised the poi-  
 “ son as he was directed.

“ Thus was her Majesties sacred and precious  
 “ life by the *All-haile* of a second *Judas* betrayed,  
 “ the attempt put in act, & all the conspirators part  
 played

“plaied to the uttermost line & title; there rested  
“only Gods part; for so it was, that her Maiesties  
“going abroad held; and as the Viper was upon  
“*S. Pauls* hand, and shaked off without hurt; so this  
“done, was in *July* in the heat of the yeere, when  
“the pores and veines were openest to receive a-  
“ny malignant vapor or tincture, if her Maiestie by  
“any accident had laid her hand upon the place.  
“And as the heathenish people at that time did ar-  
“gue and conclude thereupon that *St. Paul* was a  
“God, so we may Christianly inferre that it was  
“Gods doing and power who hath defended his  
“handmaid & servant by his secret and more then  
“naturall influence and preservative from so actu-  
“all and mortal a danger, speaking by these signes  
“to all her disloyall subjects and ambitious ene-  
“mies; That as he hath done great things by her,  
“past ordinary discourse of reason, so hee hath  
“done, and will do as great things for her, beyond  
“the course of his ordinary providence.

“For surely, if a man consider how many times  
“her life hath bin sought & assailed, since the be-  
“ginning of her reigne, by violence, by poisoning,  
“by superstitious votaries, by ambitious vnder-  
“takers, by singular Conspirators, by Conspirators  
“combined, (speaking of those that have been re-  
“vealed, besides a number (no doubt) of the like  
“which have groveled in darknes, & never came to  
“light) he will not find the like reflexion of Gods  
“favor in any sovereign Prince that hath reigned.

“But in the meane time you see the strange my-  
“steries of the *Iesuites* doctrine that have mingled



" heaven and hell, and lift up the hands of subjects  
 " against the anoynted of God; arming them with  
 " the invisible armour of Scriptures, Sacraments,  
 " Vowes, Prayers, and Blessings against their nat-  
 " urall Sovereignes. Wherein there is great dif-  
 " ference between the Spirit that wrought in *Da-*  
 " *vid*, and this that worketh in them. For *David*  
 " when relation was made to him (by one that  
 " thought hee had done *Saul* the last good office )  
 " how *Saul* had fallen upon his own sword in bat-  
 " tell, and being in the anguish of death, and care-  
 " full not to fall alive in the hands of the *Philistims*;  
 " a people uncircumcised, desired this souldier to  
 " make an end of him, who did so, and was there-  
 " fore by *David* adjudged to die, because he dared  
 " to lay his hands vpon the anointed of the Lord:  
 " and yet was *Saul* a king forsaken and abandoned  
 " of God; he had taken his mortall wound before,  
 " so as this souldier tooke from him his paine, and  
 " not his life; and it was to a good end, lest a hea-  
 " thenish people should reproch the name of God  
 " by insulting upon the person of *Saul*.

" And surely for my part I doe wonder that  
 " Princes do not concur in loosing these bands;  
 " and suppressing this Sect, which maketh a traf-  
 " fique of their sacred lives, concluding and cor-  
 " traacting for them with these blinded Votaries in  
 " the secrecie of confessions and shrifts. For I doe  
 " not see that Pirates (whom the *Civilians* account  
 " to be *Publici hostes societatis humane*, and therefore  
 " Princes bound as they affirme, though they bee  
 " otherwise in no league one with another, yea  
 and

“and though they be enemies, to joyne in the suppressing and extirpation of them ) are any such disturbers of humane societie as these are. Neither doe I thinke, that the order of the *Templers* (that was put downe throughout *Christendome* in a few weekes ) were ever offenders in so high a degree. And I finde somewhat strange that the Bishop of *Rome* (if it were but to avoid the aspersi-  
“sion of so great a slander and imputation to that Religion ) should not purge out this heaven so  
“strange and odious.

“But to returne : within five or sixe dayes after this fact committed , *Squire* went to Sea in the Earles owne ship, and belike as *Tacitus* saith, *Ferox scelerum quia prima provenerant*, taking the remaine of the same poyson with him in a little  
“pot in his portmantue , when the Earle was at Sea betweene *Faial* and *S. Michael*, he bestowed  
“it upon the pommels of a chaire of wood, where the Earle used to dine and sup : but thanks be to  
“God nothing came of it neither.

“Now let mee acquaint you a little with the manner of detecking of this matter, which God did likewise strangely bring about. *Squire* slept  
“now in secretie ; for although he failed of success, yet he tooke himselfe to be out of danger :  
“thinking because it was carried betweene his Confessor and him, it could never be revealed.  
“But his Confessor, whom it concerned not so much to keepe it secret as it did *Squire*, tickled  
“belike with the joy, that he had such an yron in the fire, imparted it (for his owne glory) to some

“principall of the fugitives there ; There rayfed a  
“great expectation in them of some effect to infue.  
“When time passed, and nothing came of it, they  
“made construction of it ; that *Squire* had beene  
“false to them. One of the more passionate of  
“them inveigheth bitterly against *Squire*, tells  
“how he was trusted, and how he had undone the  
“cause; and the better to bee revenged on him, is  
“content that one (that they let slip hither as if he  
“had fled from them) should give information of  
“this matter, not with the circumstances, but ge-  
“nerally against *Squire*, partly to winne himseife  
“credit, partly to wrecke themselves on *Squire*.  
“And this fellow, because he would be thought  
“to do the better service, would not bring this in  
“his mouth, but in a letter, which he pretended  
“to have stolne out of one of their Studies. This  
“letter compared with another letter that the  
“same man brought as written from a several per-  
“son, both which letters had one and the same bu-  
“sie knot to both names, is suspected to be coun-  
“terfeited; it is so found. Hereupon it is collected  
“that this was but an engine against *Squire*, and  
“that he was an honest man. Yet because it was a  
“tender matter, *Squire* was sent for & examined.  
“For a time he denieth ; after, hee commeth to  
“some circumstances, which concurring with the  
“others tale, it gave it to be understood that there  
“was somewhat true ; and that all was not an in-  
“vention against him: hold was taken of that, and  
“thereupon *Squire*, not knowing how farre his  
“Confessour had broken trust with him, by good per-

“ perswasion, and Gods good working, disclosed  
“ all without any rigour in the world.

“ But upon a second advise being a man of a ve-  
“ ry good reach, finding that it had beene his wi-  
“ lest way to haue confessed the whole plot and  
“ subornation which was knowne to *Walpoole*, and  
“ thereto have stopt, & not to have told of the put-  
“ ting of it in execution, which was only knowne  
“ to himselfe, and which indeed was wonne from  
“ him by good following, he indeavored at his ar-  
“ raignment to have distinguished, and avouching  
“ the first part, to have retracted the second; pre-  
“ tending that although he undertooke it, yet hee  
“ had not any purpose to performe it.

“ Whereupon one of the Commissioners being  
“ well acquainted with all the particular circum-  
“ stances, did set before him the absurdity of his  
“ deniall against his former confession which was  
“ voluntary, particular, and needlesse (otherwise  
“ then in conscience of truth) upon which speech  
“ he being stricken with remorse, and convicted in  
“ himselfe, acknowledged and justified the truth  
“ of his former confession in the hearing of all the  
“ standers by.

“ Thus Sir, I have entertained you with a Dis-  
“ course, which I think in reading will affect you  
“ diversly, as it did me in writing; But in the end I  
“ thinke we shall joyne in congratulating for our  
“ good deliuerance, and desiring of God the con-  
“ tinuance of her Majestie, in whom our good  
“ good dayes doe consist.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XV.

*Trouble from Ireland by Tyrone lurking in Spaine.  
His many dissembling submissions to the Queene of  
England. A treatie of peace concluded.*



*Dolose agunt filij iniquitatis*

*Tyrone desired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant.*



HE next danger intended and threatened, brake out in *Spaine* by *Tyrone*. They that have written of *Tyrone*, say that hee was a bastard, a banished fugitive; hee lay lurking in *Spaine*, promising to doe some service to the *Pope* and *Spaniard*, as some had done before; hee was raised to the honour of an *Earle* by the *Queene*, and being twice in

in danger (once for a murder, and then for usurping the title of O'neale) was pardoned for both. *Hugh*, Baron of *Dunganno*, now Earle of *Tyrone*, being set on by the *Spaniard* to worke some mischief, *Ann. Dom. 1597.* suddenly assailed the Fort of *Blackwater*. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare* to side with him, and at the same instant to *Sir John Norrice*, (who was then sent our Lord Generall into *Ireland*, with thirteen hundred of the *Netherlands* old Souldiers newly retired from the Warres in *Britaine*), to him *Tyrone* wrote, that hee might be mildly dealt withall, and not be driven headlong upon the dangerous rockes of disloyaltie; in the meane time he was alwayes guarded with a thousand Horse, and 6180 Foot of *Fitter*, besides 2300 of *Connaugh*; hereupon hee and all his partakers were proclaimed traytours. Thus was the rebellion raised, which was hardly quenched with much blood. *Sir John Norrice* was a Generall as well experienced in warre as any that then lived: yet in the *Irish* warres hee was not so acquainted. The advantage of the enemy was such, that time was rather spent in taking of booties, and frivolous *Parties*, then in any memorable exploits. The one looking still for fitter opportunities, and the other expecting daily his promised succours from *Spain*.

*An. Dom. 1597*

To spare the shedding of blood, the *Queene* commanded her Commissioners, the *Treasurer* and *Chiefe Justice*, to conferre with *Tyrone*, who complained of wrongs offered to him by *Sir Henry Bagnal*, Marshall, and thereupon exhibited a

petition in humble manner, containing that himselfe and all his followers might be pardoned, and be restored to their former estates, that they might freely exercise their *Romish* Religion: that no Garrison souldiers, Sheriffe, or other officer should intermeddle within the jurisdiction of his Earldome; that the company of fifty Horsemen with the *Queens* pay, might be restored to him in the same estate that formerly he had led them: that the spoylers of his countrey and people might be punished, and that Sir *Henry Bagnall* should pay him a thousand pound promised in dowry with his sister, whom *Tyrone* had married, and who was now deceased. Others also laid out their grievances conceived, such were *Odonel Brian Mac Haghoge*, *Mac Mahon*, and *Franc Mac Gonly*. They received reasonable answers to the demands. But unto them the Commissioners proposed certaine Articles: That they should forthwith lay downe their Armes, disperse their Forces, & submissively acknowledge their disloyalties; admit the *Queens* Officers in their government, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, suffer the Garrison to live without disturbance, make restitution of spoyle taken, confesse vpon their oathes how faire they had dealt with forraine Princes, and renounce all foraine ayd.

These propositions the Rebels liked not, but departed with a resolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which moved Generall *Norris*, ayded with the Lord *Deputie*, to march with his Army to *Armagh*. When *Tyrone* heard of his approach,



proachy in great perplexitie he forsooke the Port of *Black-water*, set on fire the Villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dungannon*, with part of his owne house, bewayling his state to be past recovery.

The Countrey thus wasted, and no victualls to bee had, *Norrice* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthened *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tyrone* staytourt in his owne Territories. *Tyrone* to gaine time presented to him a feigned Petition signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe at the *Queenes* Pictures feet, ungirt his sword, and craved pardon upon his knees; And in the meane time dealt for aydes out of *Spaine*, wherein hee prevailed so farre, that King *Philip* sent messengers with Capitulations, that at a prefixed time hee would send him a competent Armie to joyne with the *Irish*, that all conditions of peace with the *English* should bee rejected, and that the Rebels should bee furnished with Munition from *Spaine*.

Hereupon (though there was a cessation from Armes) he began to hurry and wasse the Countrey, and burne Villages, and drive away Booties. And having done this, put on the vizard of dissimulation againe, and sued for pardon, which to effect, he sent the Letters of King *Philip* his promises to the Lord *Deputie*, with the causes of his owne discontent; so he shuffled, that by his dissimulation, or by the negligence of others most part of *Connaught* and all *Ulster* were revolted and in a rebellion.

In which estate *Thomas Lord Burrough* was sent Lord *Deputie* into *Ireland*; he was not sooner arrived, but *Generall Norrice*, being crossed at the Court, at discontented, dyed ~~as was~~ thought through griefe. The Lord *Deputie* set presently forward to meet with the Rebels, whom hee encountered at *Moiry*, and defeating them tooke the Fort of *Blackwater*. The enemies seeking to rescue it, were defeated by the Earle of *Kildare*, but *Tyrone*, thinking all his hope was gone if he lost that Fort, beleaguered it. The Lord *Deputie* preparing straight way to rescue the place, was suddenly taken with sickness and dyed.

*Tyrone* lay still before the Fort of *Blackwater*; for the raising of his siege Sir *Henry Bagnal* was sent with 14 Banners of the choycest Troups. These the Earle met neere to *Armagh*, and being most eagerly bent against Sir *Henry*, by his exact care and diligence, or by the others negligence, he got the victory, wherein Sir *Henry* lost his life. The English had not received such an overthrow since their first setting foot in *Ireland*: 15 Captaines were killed, and 2500 Souldiers were routed, and put to flight. The Garrison of *Blackwater* hereupon surrendered, and the Rebels were thereby furnished with Munition and Armour, and *Tyrone*s glory extolled. By this the strength of the rebellion was increased.

In this desperate estate stood *Ireland*, when *Robert Earle of Essex* was sent thither Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Governour Generall. Hee led twentie thousand Souldiers; sixteene thousand foot,

foot, the rest horsemen. As soon as he came, hee called a Couincell touching the affaires; It was thought fittest, that *Monister* should bee first cleared of those petty Rebels lying neere it, (whereupon (contrary to his owne opinion, and his directions received from the *Queene*) hee made first to *Monister*, and cleared those parts, though with more losse of time and men, then was well liked of the State heere: from thence hee went into *Leinster* against the *O Conars* and *O Neales*, whom he vanquished. Thence he sent *Sir Coniers Clifford* against *O Rork*, himselfe taking another way to distract the Forces of *Tyrone*. *Sir Coniers Clifford* was defeated and slaine: Whereupon the Lord Generall made towards *Ulster*, and came to *Louth*. *Tyrone* shewed himselfe upon the hills on the other side of the river. And falling unto his wonted vaine of dissimulation, desired a parley with the Lord *Lieutenant*, but hee rejected it, answering, that if he would confere with him, hee should finde him the next morning in the head of his Troupes. On which day after a light skirmish, a horsman of *Tyrone*s Troupes cryed with a loud voyce, that *Tyrone* was not willing to fight, but to parley upon peace with the Lord Generall, which thing was againe denied. The next day as the Lord *Lieutenant* was in his March forward, one *Hagan* sent from *Tyrone* met him, and declared that the Earle most humbly desired to haue the *Queens* mercie and peace, and besought that his Lordship would bee pleased to affoord him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee

with all reverence attend at the Ford of the river not farre from *Louth*. To this motion at last hee consented, and sent to discover the place; and having a Troupe of Horse upon the next hill, came downe alone to the river. *Tyrone*, attending on the other side, as soone as he saw his approach, rode into the River up to the Saddle, and with semblance of reverence saluted the Lord *Lieutenant*. And having had some conference together the space of an houre, both returned to their Companies. After this, *Tyrone* making suit for a further conference, the Lord *Lieutenant* taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *George Boucher*, Sir *Warram Saint Leger*, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Constable* went to the Foord; where *Tyrone* with his brother *Cormac*, *Mac Gennis*, *Mac Guir*, *Ever Mac Cowly*, *Henry Orvington*, and *O Quin*, attended their comming. And upon conference it was concluded, that certaine Commissioners should the next day meet for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there should bee a cessation of Warres from fixe weekes to fixe weeks, untill the first day of *May*, yet so as it might be free on both sides after fourteen daies warning given to resume hostilitie afresh. And if any of *Tyrones* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord *Lieutenants* pleasure.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Vpon the comming of the Earle of Essex into England from Ireland, Tyrone contrary to his promise stirreth and rebelleth afresh, and is encouraged by the Pope, and ayded by the King of Spaine. These forces are vanquished by the Lord Deputie. Heereupon Don Iohn de Aquila, a Spanish Captaine, who was sent to ayd the Rebells, and kept Kinsale, capitulates for Peace. Tyrone forsaken of his followers, submits himselfe to the Lord Deputie, and is pardoned. Plotting a new Rebellion, when hee was called by Processe to answer a suite of the Bishop of Derry, thinking the treason to bee discovered by O Cane, who informed the Bishop in his suite, fled out of Ireland. In these troubles and treasons, see the Machinations of Sathans feed against the seed of the Woman, that is, the Church, and the miraculous deliverances and victories of the Church; according to that, The Womans seed shall breake the Serpents head; spoken of Christ, applicable to the Church, and particularly to the Church of England, which that Balaiam of Rome seekes now by all meanes to draw from God, because hee knowes he cannot prevaile against vs till we forsake God.*

The



Tyrones false Submission afterwards rebelling.

A.D. 1599

**T**HE *Queene* was presently informed, that in *Ireland* the Spring, Summer, and Autumne were spent without service upon the Arch-Rebell, that her men were diminished, large summes of money consumed, without doing that for which hee was sent, that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* layd at hazard to bee lost. Whereupon the *Queene* wrote somewhat sharply to the Lord *Licutenant*; which mooved him so much, as leaving his charge to be managed by others, he came into *England*, hoping to pacifie the *Queene*. When hee came, he was commanded to keepe his chamber,

ber, and soone after was committed to the custody of the Lord *Keeper*.

No sooner was the Lord Generall departed from *Ireland*, but that *Tyrone* (notwithstanding the cessation from Warre) drawing his Forces together, tooke the field; to whom Sir *William Warren* was sent, to charge him with breach of promise; hee answered, that his doings were according to Covenants, having given warning before; his cause was just, for that the Lord *Lieutenant* was committed in *England*, upon whose honour hee reposed his whole estate, neither would hee have any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ireland*. Hereupon presuming upon *Spaine*, hee sent *Odonel* into *Connaught*, received tumultuous persons, strengthened the weak, glorying every where that he would restore againe the ancient Religion and libertie of *Ireland*, and expell the English out of *Ireland*. To which end, some money and munition was sent from *Spaine*, and Indulgences from *Rome*. And for an especiall favour, the *Pope* sent him a Plume of *Phenix* feathers for a Trophie of his Victories.

*Tyrone* under pretence of devotion in mid-winter went to the Monastery of *Tipperary* to worship the Crosse: from thence he sent out *Mac Guir* with a number of rifling robbers to spoyle and prey upon the peaceable subjects, with whom Sir *Warram Saint Leger* met, and at the first encounter ran *Mac Guir* through the body with a Lance, and was likewise runne through with his Lance. Whereupon *Tyrone* made ready to returne from *Moun-*



*An Dom. 1600*

ster sooner then was expected or himselfe meant.

At this time, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mounjoy* was sent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*. At his first comming, hearing that *Tyrone* was to depart out of *Mounster*, he hastened to stop his passage in *Ferriall*, and there to give him battell, which the Earle prevented by taking another way, having intelligence of the Lord Generall his designs. The Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himselfe in his March toward *Ulster*, with purpose to drive the Earle to a stand. In the meane time, *Sir Henry Docwray* at *Loughfoile*, and *Sir Mathew Morgan* at *Bellishannon* planted the Garrisons, which they effected with small resistance, and repressed the rebels in divers overthrowes.

The Lord Generall likewise held *Tyrone* very hard, and with light skirmishes ever put him to the worst: so that hee now perceiving his fortunes to decline, withdrew himselfe backwards into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant entred in *Lease*, the place of refuge & receipt of all the rebels in *Leinster*; where he slew *Ony Mac Rory-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O Mores*, a bloody, bold and desperat yong man; and so chased out the rest of his companions, as that never since they were seen in those parts. And though Winter began to draw on, yet marched hee forward to the entrie of the *Muiry*, three miles beyond *Dundalk*.

The passage into *Ulster* is every way naturally cumbersome, and it was helped by the rebels, who had fortified and blocked up the entrance with fences of stakes stucke in the ground, with hurdles joyned

joyned together, & stones in the midst, with turfes of earth laid betweene hills, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of souldiers. But the *Englsb* brake through their Pallisadoes, and beat backe the enemie. The Lord *Deputie*, placed a Garison eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memorie of Sir *Iohn Norrice*, hee named the Fort MOUNT NORRICE. In his returne hee had many skirmishes. At *Carlingford* the enemies were assembled to stop his way, but were all discomfited and put to flight. In the midst of Winter hee entred the *Glinnes*, that is, the valleyes of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels. There he brought into subjection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac Pheogh*, and the *O Tooles*; of whom he tooke hostages. Then went he to *Fereal* and drave *Tirel*, the most approved Warriour of all the Rebels, from his Fastnesse, (that is, his bogges and bushes) unto *Vlster*, and after some other good services done here, the Spring approaching, hee marched into *Vlster*, fortified *Armagh*, and removed *Tyrone* from the Fort of *Blackwater*, where he had fortified himselfe.

In the meane time the *Pope* and the king of *Spaine* laboured to maintaine the rebellion in *Ireland*, and to helpe *Tyrone*. Their agents were a *Spaniard* elected Archbishop of *Dublin* by the *Pope*, the Bishop of *Clowfort*, the Bishop of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a *Iesuite*. These by prayers and promises of heavenly rewards, perswaded the *Spaniard* to send succours into *Ireland*, which hee did, under the Generall *Don Iohn d' Aquila*, a man that conceived great

hopes, and was confident of much ayd from the titular Earle *Desmond*, and *Florence Mac Carty*, a rebell of great power; wherein the man was much deceived; for Sir *George Carew* Lord President of *Munster* had prevented all his designs, and sent them prisoners into *England*, where they were fast. *Don Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards* of old trayned souldiers, with certaine *Irish* fugitives landed at *Kinsale* in *Mounster* the last of *October*, Anno 1600. and presently published a writing, wherein he stiled himselfe *Master Generall* and captaine of the *Catholike King* in the warres of God, for holding and keeping the faith in *Ireland*: this drew divers distempered and evill affected persons on his side.

The Lord *Deputy* gathering his Companies hastened to *Kinsale*, & incamped neere unto the towne on the land side. In the meane time, Sir *Richard Levison* with two of the *Queenes* ships inclosed the haven, to forbid all access to the *Spaniards*. Then on both sides the Canon played upon the towne.

But newes was brought that two thousand *Spaniards* more were arrived at *Beere Haven*, *Baltimor*, and *Castle haven*. Sir *Richard Levison* was imployed upon them; in which service he sunke five of their ships. Vnto these new landed *Spaniards*, (whose Leader was *Alfonso O-Campo*) *O-donel* over the yce by speedie journeyes, and unknowne by-ways repaired, unseene of the *English*. And a few dayes after, *Tyrone* himselfe with *O Roik*, *Raymund*, *Burk*, *Mac Mahun*, *Randal Mac Surly*, *Tirrel* the Baron of *Lixname*, with the choyce of the Nobles, making

making six thousand foot and five hundred horse. All confident of victorie, being fresh, strong, and more in number then the *English*, who were out-wearied with a winter siege, with scarcity of victuals, their horse weake with fore-travell.

In this hope *Tyrone* upon an hill not a mile from the *English* campe made a *bravado* two daies together, intending to have put these new supplies of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred *Irish* by night into *Kinsale*, as did appeare by letters intercepted from *Don Aquila*. To prevent this, the Lord *Deputy* appointed eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and himselfe with the *President of Mounster*, and the *Marshall* at the foot of the hill chose out a convenient plot to give the *Earle* battell; who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bagpipers sounded the retreat; whom the Lord *Generall* followed, and forced them to a stand in the brinke of a bogge, where their horsemen were disordered and routed by the *Earle of Clan-Ricard*. The maine battell was charged by the Lord *Deputy* himselfe, who discharged the parts of a provident Captaine, and of a valiant Souldier. The Rebels not able to withstand him, brake their arrayes, and fled confusedly in disorder. In the pursuit, many were slaine. *Tyrone*, *O-donel* and the rest flung away their weapons, and shifted for themselves by flight. *Alfonso O-Campo* and fixe Ensigne-bearers were taken prisoners, nine of their Ensignes were borne away by the *English*, and twelve hundred *Spaniards* slaine. This victory obtained dismayed both the *Spaniards* in *Kinsale*, and the rebels. *Tyrone* was forced

into his starting holes in *Flister*. *O-donel* fled into *Spaine*. The rest of the rebels were driven to hide themselves.

The Lord *Generall* returning to the siege of *Kinsale*, began to raise Rampires, and to mount his Canons neerer the towne, in which worke sixe dayes were spent without any impeach from the *Spaniards*. *Don Aquila* seeking now to get cleare and beegone, sent his *Lieutenant* with the *Drum-major*, to the Lord *Deputie*; wherein he craved that some Gentleman of credit might be sent into the towne, with whom he might parly for peace. The Lord *Deputie* sent Sir *William Godolphin*, to whom *Don Aquila* signified that hee had found the Lord *Deputie*, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable person; the *Irish* of no valour, rude and uncivill, yea, and (that which he sore feared) *perfidious* and false; That he was sent from the king of *Spaine* his Master to ayde two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there was any such *in rerum natura*; considering that one tempestuous puffe of war had blowne the one of them into *Spaine*, and the other into the *North*, so as they were no more to bee seene: willing therefore hee was to treat about a peace, that might be good for the *English*, and not hurtfull to the *Spaniards*. Albeit he wanted nothing requisite to the holding out of the siege, and expected every day out of *Spaine* fresh supplies to finde the *English* worke and trouble enough.

An. Dom. 1601

The matter thus proposed, the *English* being weake, and wearied with a Winter-siege, the Lord

Lord *Deputie* consented to an agreement upon these Articles.

1. That *John d' Aquila* should quit the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, as well in the Towne of *Kinsale*, as in the Ports and Castle of *Baltimar*, *Bere-haven*, and *Castle-haven*, and should deliver them unto the Lord *Deputie*, or to whom he should appoynt.

2. That *Don d' Aquila* and his *Spaniards* should depart with Armes, Money, Munition, and Banners displaied. The Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no Armes against the *Queene of England*, till such time as they were unshipped in some part of *Spain*.

3. That Ships and Victuals should be granted to them in their departure, for their money, at such reasonable prizes, as the Countrey could afford.

4. That, if contrary windes inforced them into any other part of *Ireland* or *England*, they might bee entertained as friends with safetie of Harbour and Provisions necessarie for their money.

5. That a *cessation* should be from Warre, a *securitie* from injuries.

6. That the Shippes in which they should be imbarqued, might freely passe by other *English* Shippes without molestation, and the Shippes arriving in *Spain*, might safely returne backe againe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*. For securitie whereof, the sayd *Don d' Aquila* should deliver for Hostages such three of their

Cap.

Captaines as the Lord Deputy would choose, *Ty-  
rone* seeing his hopes gone, his men slaine, his rest-  
lesse Conscience gave him no repose, hee shifted  
from place to place, in much feare and perplexity.  
In the meane time the Lord Deputy refreshed his  
weary and Winter-beaten Souldiers, repaired the  
decayes, renewed the Garisons in *Mounster*. This  
done, hee departed for *Dublin*. From thence to-  
ward the Spring, by an easie march well appoynt-  
ed hee returned into *Visiter*, meaning to belay the  
enemy on every side by planting his Forts, so to  
take him in his toyle. Thus comming to *Blackwa-  
ter*, hee transported his Army over the River upon  
floats, and beneath the old Fort he erected a new,  
which thing so terrified the Rebelle, that hee set  
on fire his owne house at *Dunganon*, and got him-  
selfe further from danger. The Lord Deputy fol-  
lowed him close, spoyled the Corne-fields, and  
burnt the Villages, and booties were brought in  
on every side. The Forts in *Lough Crew*, *Lough  
Reogh*, and *Magher Lecond* were yeilded up, and  
Garrisons placed in *Lough, Meaugh*, or *Sidny*, and  
in *Monaghan*; whence with their continuall sallies  
they kept the enemies in such feare, that they hid  
themselves in woods, complaining & exclaiming  
against *Tyrene*, that had brought them all to ruine  
for his private discontents, and began to repent  
them, so farre as they made haste who should first  
come in to the Lord Deputy. The Earle seeing  
how the world went, thought good to prevent  
the worst by his submission, which in humble let-  
ters hee sent to the *Queene*, who gave the Lord  
Deputy



*Deputy* authoritie to pardon his life, though hardly drawne to remit his offences; his friends daily solicited the Lord *Deputy* for his peace; which at last was granted, to put his life and revenues without any condition, to the will of the *Queene*. Whereupon at *Mellifont* accompanied with two persons and no more, he had access to the Chamber of Presence, where the Lord *Deputy* sat in a Chaire of Estate.

*Tyrone* in base and poore aray, with a dejected countenance, at the first entrance fell downe upon his knees, and so rested till hee was commanded to arise; and coming neerer, stepping two paces, hee fell downe prostrate, and with great submission acknowledged his *sinnes* against God, and his fault against her *Majestie*. The next day the Lord *Deputy* departing from *Dublin*, tooke *Tyrone* thither, meaning to transport him for *England*. But the death of *Queene Elizabeth* stayed that designe, and King *James* succeeding, and being received with admirable love of all sorts, at his first entrance pardoned *Tyrone*. And *Ireland* hath been since held in greater peace then ever in the memorie of any Stories hath been formerly knowne.

After all this, *Tyrone*, a man not framed for a peaceable course but onely for trouble, fell into his last Pageant in this manner.

Mr. *Mountgomerie* was made Lord Bishop of *Derry*, (who was after Lord Bishop of *Meash*) and because the revenues of that of *Derry*, and some other Bishopricks neere adjoyning, were so much

Hh                      impaired;

impaired, that they were no way able to make a reasonable maintenance; the Bishop sought by lawfull meanes to get some Lands taken without right or Law from his Bishopricke, and to recover things desperately lost, if he could. This thing could not bee effected without the offence of *Tyrone*, who had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the Bishopricke land. In so much that *Tyrone*, understanding the Bishop sought to recover the lands of the Bishopricke, told the Bishop thus much: *My Lord, you have two or three Bishoprickes, and yet you are not content with them, you seeke the lands of my Earldome. My Lord, quoth the Bishop, your Earldome is swolne so bigge with the Lands of the Church, that it will burst if it bee not vented.* The Bishop, intending in a lawfull course to recover the Lands lost, found that there was no man could give him better light and knowledge of those things then *O Cane*, who had beene great with *Tyrone*: and to make use of him, was a matter of difficultie; yet some meanes being used to him, hee came of his owne accord to the Bishop, and told him, that hee could helpe him to the knowledge of that which hee sought, but hee was afraid of *Tyrone*: *Nay, said the Bishop, I will not trust you, for I know that one bottle of Aqua vite will drawe you from mee to Tyrone.* Whereupon he tooke a booke and laid it on his head, saying, *Ter liuro, ter liuro:* which as my Lord of *Meath* said, ( who told me this Storie ) is one of the greatest kinde of affirming a truth which the *Irish* have, and after this Ceremonie performed they keepe their promise:

*O Cane*

*O Cane* using this ceremony promised to reveale all that he knew in that matter, if he would on the other side promise him to save him from the violence of *Tyrone*, and not to deliver him into *England*; which hee promised to doe. Whereupon the Bishop resolved to bring him to the Councell of *Ireland*, there to take his confession; as they came along by *Dungannon*, *Tyrone*s sonne came foorth with sixteene horsemen; but finding the Bishop well appoynted, and guarded with men, told him that hee came foorth onely to attend his Lordshipsome part of the way, and so after hee rode with him a reasonable way, tooke his leave and returned. The Bishop feared that he came to take *O Cane* from him, and thought that he meant to doe it, if the Bishop had not beene better provided then *He was*.

Thus they comming peaceably to the Councell, the confession of *O Cane* was taken. After this, Proccesse were sent to *Tyrone*, to warne him to come at an appoynted time, to answer to the suite of the Lord Bishop of *Derry*. There was no other intencion then, but in a peaceable manner to bring the suite to a tryall. But behold the burthen of an evill conscience. *Tyrone* had entred into a new conspiracie, to raise another rebellion; of this Conspiracie was *O Cane*. This thing was secret; the Councell knew nothing of it. *Tyrone* being served with Proccesse to answer the suit, beganne to suspect that this was but a plot to draw him in; that surely all the treason was revealed by *O Cane*, whom he knew to be of the conspiracie:

that the pretence was a Proceffe and a triall in law, but the intent was to have his head. Vpon this bare suspicion *Tyrone* resolued with such other as was in the conspiracie to this, and thereupon fled out of *Ireland* with his confederates, and left all those lands in the North of *Ireland*, which by his Majesties authoritie, and the diligence of his Majesties subjects which have been Vndertakers, are now planted with a more civill people then before.

This Storie of *Tyrone*, being compared with that of *Stucley* and other Irish Commotions, may proove the implacable mind of the *Pape*, and the favour of God in delivering us. *Stucley*, by the providence of God was turned another way, and came not into *Ireland*, as hee purposed: they who came, were ever destroyed. But no enemie did ever more hurt there then *Tyrone*. But when the accompt is cast up, what have all the adversaries of *England* got in the end? They have like secret Serpents nibbled at the Heele. And indeed this hath been the practise of the old Serpent in troubling the Church. And wee have both warning of his malice, and a promise of deliverance, and in the end to tread on his Head, that now biteth at our Heeles. The *Womans Seed* shall breake the Serpents Head, but the Serpent shall bruise his Heele. The promise is fulfilled in *Christ Iesus* our Head, and yet by the *Apostle* extended to the Church, *Rom. 16. 20.* The God of Peace shall tread *Sathan* under your feet shortly. It is true, that this is done in a spirituall battell, wherein *Sathan* and Sinne shall bee overthrowne:

throwne: yet to comfort his Church and to teach us to stay with patience the finall fulfilling of his promises, hee doth in the meane time send many deliverances to his Church, and many times beateth downe *Sathan* and *Sathans* instruments under the feet of his Church. For is not this a treading downe of *Sathans* head, when we see all the instruments that *Sathan* hath stirred up to our destruction to bee by the hand of God beaten and trodden to dust? Verily, unto us it is a *signe of comfort*, and that from the Lord, but to our adversaries a *signe of feare*. The true Church of God hath a priviledge above others in this world, though persecuted in and by this evill world, yet there appeareth alwayes an eminent priviledge of the Church. When the Iewes were Gods Church, this appeared among them, what was their priviledge? They were called by God from and before all other Nations, not because they were stronger, or greater, or wiser, but because God would fulfill his promise to their Fathers. And to them were committed the Oracles of God; And as the Apostle doth enlarge the same thing, to them pertained the adoption, and the glorie, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises. In all which may appeare what God did for them, and what he doth for his Church alwaies: but what are they to doe to God? onely to worship him according to these Oracles, this Law, these Covenants, these Promises, which God hath given them. By these things then may the Church be knowne, wee may adde another thing to these whereby wee finde

Rom. 3. 2.

Rom 9. 4.

that God would alwayes bee knowne to bee the God of his people of his *Church*, that is, a *miraculous protection* of his *Church* and strange deliverance out of dangers.

This miraculous protection and deliverance God shewed to *Israel* divers wayes; and this hath bee likewise shewed to the Church of *Christians*, and then especially when the Church hath beene most oppugned. And this mercy hath God declared to no *Church* more then to the *Church* of *England*: wee have the *Oracles* of God among us, and these we labour to preserve without mixture, that no *oracles* of men may be joyned with them in any equality. This we professe, and for this we suffer. This is our glory, that wee suffer as the *Church* of God hath alwayes suffered. This is our glory, that wee are persecuted by a people that have forsaken their God. For they that have forsaken the onely preferment by the *Oracles* of God committed to their trust; and have against that trust, thrust in mens *Oracles*, *mens traditions*, to match the *Oracles* of God in equall authoritie: they who worship not God according to Gods *Oracles* delivered to them, but according to their owne *inventions*; these men have forsaken their God. And these be they that glory so much of the name of the *Catholike* Church against us. God knoweth his *Church*; For the Lord knoweth who are his; But our adversaries deale not with God to please him, but with men to deceive them. If they should deceive some men with the maske and with the emptie title of the *Catholike* Church, what have they gotten there-

thereby? God is not deceived, and God will in his time make it knowne where his *Catholike Church* is. God will not have his *Catholike Church* maintained with *lies*, with wicked and *ungracious practises*, with *treasons* and rebellions, with *conspiracies*; they who practise such things can never prove themselves to bee the *Catholike Church*; but the true *Catholike Church* is knowne by *holding the Oracles of God*, by *worshipping* God according to his owne Oracles, by *suffering* patiently the practises of wicked men, by *committing their cause* to God, by *trusting* in God, and in the power of his might, and by *miraculous deliverances* out of danger by the onely hand and power of God. This *holy* and *heavenly* protection of God of the *Church of England* may plainly prove unto all the world, that the *Church of England* is a part and true member of that *Catholike Church* that serveth God in truth and sinceritie, enjoying those priviledges and favours which God doth vouchsafe to no people saving to his owne Church.

Now let the *Pope* goe on in his course and fulfill his measure: let him honour wretched and wicked rebels, the *scum* of the *earth*: let him send a *Peacockes taile*, as he did to *Stucley*: let him send a *Plume of Phanix feathers*, as hee did to *Tyrone* (if they were *Phenix feathers*, or if the *Pope* did not collude in one thing, as that *Fryer* did in another thing, who undertooke to shew to the people a *feather* of the wing of the Angel *Gabriel*; a *plume* of whose *feathers* was more befitting the *Pope* to send, if his *Holineesse* hath such command over *Angels*



gels, as they say he hath:) Let them I say proceed in the workes of darkenesse, as they have done, and as they continue to doe: let us trust in the Lord who hath manifested to all the world by his great, mercifull, and manifold deliverances that hee hath taken the protection of us. And as hee hath done hitherto, assuredly hee will doe to the ende, if wee faile not: for *God will not forsake us, if wee forsake not him.* Indeed if wee forsake him, and fall away from the *truth of Religion* in the Church, and from the *execution of Justice* in the State, and from obedience to the faith: then may wee lose our part in God, and lose our confidence in his helpe, and lose the blessed benefit of his protection. They can never prevaile against us by any other way, then by our forsaking of God. When *Balak* the King of *Moab* had sent for *Balaam* the false Prophet, and by him understood that it was impossible for him to prevaile against *Israel*, though *Balaam* was sent to curse them: At last he was informed by his false Prophet *Balaam*, that there was no hope to prevaile against *Israel*, unlesse there were some meanes devised to draw *Israel* into sinne against God, and so would God bee offended with them, and then might their adversaries prevaile against them: This advise was most pernicious against *Israel*. For the women of *Moab* were sent among the *Israelites* to intise them both to *bodily* and *spirituall* Fornication. And this indeed provoked Gods anger: and therefore the Lord commanded *Israel* to *vexe the Midianites*, and to *smite them*, for they trouble you with

with their wyles. The King of Spaine hath procured Balaam the false Prophet, the Pope of Rome to curse the Church and State of ENGLAND: hee hath beene as greedily bent to curse England, as ever Balaam was to curse Israel. His curses by Gods goodnesse have beene turned into blessings upon us. The more hee hath cursed, the more have wee received blessings from God. The Pope perceiving that his curses cannot prevaile against us, hath entred into the consultation of Balaam the false Prophet, to send among us Priests and Iesuites secretly, who (as they say) are well acquainted both with carnall and spiri-  
tually fornication. These come among us, and trouble us with their wyles. And if by their wyles we bee once drawne away from God, then may they prevaile, but not otherwise then as the devill hath sometimes permission to prevaile against Gods people. But so long as wee stand the Church of God, Holding the Oracles of GOD committed to us, Worshipping God according to the rules of holy Doctrine, wee may with joy of heart expect the protection of God as wee have had. Of these things what can our adversaries denie? Can they denie that wee have the Oracles of God among us, onely reverencing them? Can they denie the miraculous protection of God over us from time to time against all their wicked practises? Let our enemies bee Iudges heerein. Can they deny that the Pope hath runne the course of false Balaam against us? Can they denie that their Priests and Iesuites come creeping

in among us, to draw us away from God to be partakers with them in their superstition and idolatry: these things are manifest to the world, and to their owne consciences: then wee leave them unto the service of *their Balaam*, let them leave us to the service of *our God*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

A great mischief intended to King IAMES at his first entrance into the Kingdome of England, before his Coronation; Watson and Clarke Priests administering oaths of secrecie, and applauding the project. It came to nothing by Gods mercy. The Kings Majesties clemencie toward the Conspirators after judgement past upon them. No treason in England attempted but had a Romish Priest in the practise.



Watson Seducing Noblemen



Veene Elizabeth, after so many bloody and dangerous practises attempted against her, being mightily protected by God, ended her dayes in peace and safetie. The enimie was not permitted to hurt

her with all their *bloody* and *barbarous* practises. After her, succeeded our peaceable *Solomon*, King *James*, who laboured to establish peace, if it might be: But when hee *spoke of peace, they prepared themselves for warre.*

*An. Dom. 1603*

Hee was first encountred with such a practise, whereof because I know not the truth and bottom, I must follow such relations as I find. King *James*, our gracious Sovereigne, being called into the right of his owne iuheritance, by the great and admirable applause and affections of all good men from the *highest* to the *lowest* of England, and declaring his constant resolution for the mainteinance of Religion; deferred his Coronation till *Saint James day*. In the meane time some unquiet spirits entred into a conspiracy, (their vaine hopes, for advancing of their Religion, failing) their designe, as is said, was to surprize the King and Prince *Henry*. Of forces they presumed, meaning to retain them prisoners in the *Tower*, and with treasures therein to maintaine their intent, or to carry them to *Dover Castle*, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration of Religion, and a removall of some Counsellors of State; or else to put some other project in execution. To conceale this treason, *Watson* the Priest devised oathes for secrecy, and himselfe with *Clarke* another Priest, taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation: for that the King was no King before he was anointed, and the Crowne solemnly set upon his head.

The other persons involved in this practise were

*Henry*

Henry Brooke Lord Cobham, Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Coply. All which were apprehended and committed. The sicknesse being then rise in London, the Terme was kept at Winchester, the place designed for their arraignment, whither they were conveyed vnder strong guard. The first brought to triall was George Brooke brother to the Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Brookesby, Coply, Walsen and Clarke. The Inditement was, that they had conspired first to destroy the King: then to raise rebellion, to alter Religion, to subvert the State, to procure forraigne invasion. These their intents they had made knowne to the Lord Gray, whom they intended to make Earle Marshall of England, Walsen Lord Chancellor, George Brooke Lord Treasurer, Markham Secretary; that with the King the Lords also should be surprized in their Chambers at Greenwich, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London should be sent for, and so shut up in the Tower.

George Brooke answered, that he had Commission from the King to do that he did, only to try faithfull subjects; but being required to shew his Commission, he could produce none. Sir Griffin Markham, excepting onely the imputation of blood, confessed his offence penitently; alledging it was through a discontented minde, and desired the Lords to be a meanes to the King for mercy. Walsen and Clarke (the former of which confessed) say he had drawne all those Gentlemen into those plots.

like true *Roman Priests*, averred that they held the King for no King, untill he was crowned; and therefore it could not be treason: alledging that *Saul* was no King, till hee was chosen in *Mispeh*, though hee had bin anointed in *Ramoth* by the Prophet *Samuel*: Neither *Ithobeam*, who in the dayes of *Solomon* had been confirmed by the Prophet to raigne over *Israel*, untill the people made him King upon the foolish answer of *Rehoboam*: making no difference between the mediate and ordinary succession of lawfull Kings in common-wealths established, and those which God himselte extraordinarily advanced to bee scourges to an ungratefull land. It was told them, that in *England* the King never dyeth, that there is no *interregnum*, that the Coronation is but a ceremony to shew the King to the people. Two dayes after was *S. Walter Raleigh* brought to the Barre, he was indicted for combining with the Lord *Cobham*, (his accuser as it was said in the foresaid designes) hee pleaded not guiltie, and so stood for his purgation: He pleaded for himselfe a long time, and with some admiration of men, who thought that a man of such understanding would hardly bee drawne into a plot so foule and so foolish: yet he was found guilty and had sentence of death.

The like Iudgement a few dayes after, passed upon the Lord *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned on two severall dayes. The former was indicted for combining with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and *George Brooke*, to procure Forces from the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke for Invasion: the other for joyning



ning with the foresaid Priests, Knights and Gentlemen in their conspiracies. Sir Edward *Parham* was onely acquitted by the Iury. Of the rest, onely three dyed, *Watson*, *Clarke* and *George Brooke*. *Watson* had before in Print laid open at large the treasonable practises of the *Iesuites*; and at his death left this suspicion on them, that they in revenge had cunningly drawne him into this action which brought him to his end. After this the Lords *Cobham* and *Gray*, and Sir *Griffin Markham* were by a warrant to be executed the *Friday* next. But the *King* inclined to mercy. On *Thursday* appointed a Pardon for them, the manner whereof was such, as gave unexpected joy to them that looked for nothing but death. The Pardon was brought to the place where they were to be executed by Master *Gibb* a Gentleman, so secretly, that none present understood any thing thereof. Sir *Griffin Markham* was first brought to the Scaffold (erected in the Castle Greene,) and made himselfe ready for the stroke of the Axe. When secretly Master *Gibb* delivered to the *High Sheriffe* the *Kings* Warrant to the contrary, who understanding his Majesties intent, tooke backe the prisoner (as if he were first to confront the two Lords, upon some service of the *King*) and brought him unto the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought foorth, who having powred out his prayers unto GOD, at length kneeling downe for the stroke of death, the *Sheriffe* bad stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him; and thereupon led him likewise into

into the Castle Hall. The Lord Cobham was last brought forth: who being in preparation & prayers, the Lord Gray, and Sir Griffin were brought backe againe. All the three prisoners appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Majesties Warrant for the stay of the execution. At which example of clemency unexpected both of the prisoners and spectators, there arose great shouts of the people, crying, *God save the King*. The condemned wished that they might sacrifice their lives to redeme their faults, and to repurchase so mercifull a Prince his love.

This attempt seemed to be a matter of little danger, because there appeared neither strength to act the businesse intended, nor heads to carry it. But our thankfulness must appeare to God for our least deliverances. It is certaine by their confessions, that a great mischief was intended, howsoever they might seeme unable to effect it. And this we may observe, that no treason was ever attempted without a *Romish Priest*. The treasons attempted in England have that proper and peculiar marke, to have a *Priest* in the practise.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XVIII.

A horrible treason was a hatching and breeding in the last yeere of Queene Elizabeth. By Garners meanes and others, the King of Spaine is dealt withall for an Invasion; he entertaines the motion, but upon the entrance of King JAMES, did not proceed to any forcible enterprife. The Gunne-powder Treason takes ground and life from the doctrine of Parsons and the Iesuites. It was first propounded by Catesby to Winter. The Oath of Secrecie taken by the Conspirators. Provision of Powder and Wood for the Mine. Their consultation what to doe after the blow was given. The Letter sent to the Lord Mounteagle, scanned by the Earle of Salisburie, and other Princes Cancellers, but truly interpreted by the King, in whose mouth there was a divine Sentence at that time, so that he did not erre in judgement. The examination of Fawkes. The apprehension and confusion of the Powder-traytors. God from heaven both by his Word and protection hath manifestly shewne our Church to bee the true Church, and the Popish Church to bee the malignant Church, and degenerate from the ancient Romane Church both in manners and doctrines.

Kk

Now



OW I enter upon a Narration, which may fully open our adventures to the world: wherein appeareth the profunditie of malice, and crueltie and ungodlinesse, and whereby all men may understand by what spirit these men are ledd. The Histories of former times containe no example like it. Which sheweth, that wicked inventions are growne to a greater ripenesse in the *Romish* generation. And when they are come to their full ripenesse, they themselves may understand what they are to looke for. In the meane time, let all men understand the difference betweene the Church

of

of God, and that which in the Scripture is called *Ecclesiam malignantium*. That Church of the malignant may sufficiently appeare by all the former practises, but especially by this of the Gunpowder Treason.

This Treason was first thought on in the last yeere of Queene Elizabeth, when Henrie Garnet the Superiour of the malignant here, *Catesby*, and others sent *Thomas Winter* into Spaine to negotiate with the Spanish King in the name of the English Catholikes: First, to send an Army to them, who were now in readinesse to joyne their forces with his: secondly, to grant some pensions to sundrie persons devoted to his service in England: And thirdly, *Winter* was to give advertisement of the discontentments that the young Gentlemen and Soldiers had conceived up in the death of *Essex*, whereby a fit occasion was offered to forward the Popish cause. To prosecute this businesse, hee made for his meanes *Freswel* the Leiger Inhabitant in Spaine, *Don Pedro Francisco*, second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*: All which assured *Winter*, that the office of his employment would bee very gratefull to his Master. The place of landing concluded upon by them, was *Ken* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Haven* in Wales was held fittest. With these and other like projects *Winter* all this Summer followed the King in his progresse: And lastly, had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that the King would bestow an hundred thousand Crownes towards the Expedition, halfe

*Odi vi ecclesia  
malignantium  
Psal. 25. 5. in  
edit. vulgata.*

thereof to bee payed that yeere, and the rest the next Spring, when at the farthest he meant to set foot in *England*. On whose behalfe he willed the *English* Catholikes to maintaine their promise, whom hee respected (as was said) as his owne proper *Castilians*; and further desired their continuall advertisements, if in the meane time it chanced the old *Queene* to die.

*Winter* thus laden with hopes, returned from *Spaine*, and acquainted *Garnett*, *Catesby*, and *Tresham* with what had passed, which they related to others. All were glad to heare the newes, & rested satisfied, expecting the day. But before the next Spring *Queene Elizabeth* died. To give notice of her death, *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spaine*. *Guy Fawkes* was likewise sent from *Bruxells*, by *Sir William Stanley* into *Spaine*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the *Spanish King*, that *King James* would runne the same course, and proceed as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late *Queene* had done, for whose defence they desired instantly that some *Spaniards* might bee transported unto *Milford haven*; Where the *English* Papists would be forward to assist them, having in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprise. But the *Spaniard* would not now hearken to their motions, or proceed any further to any forcible enterprise.

In the meane while, the *Jesuites* had been tampering to disswade the acceptance of *King James* into *England*, urging it that death was rather to bee indured,

indured, then to admit an *Heretike*. And those that gave him consent, they held liable to excommunication by the censure of Pope *Clement* the eight. The *Papists* seeing their great anchor-hold to faile them from *Spaine*, began to enter into more desperate courses. *Catesby* tooke his ground from the doctrine of *Father Parsons*: That the whole Schooles both of *Divines* and *Lawyers*, take this position vndoubtedly to be beleevd, *That if any Christian Prince shall manifestly turne from the Catholike Religion, and desire, or seeke to reclaim others from the same, hee presently falleth from all Princely power and dignitie, and that also by vertue and power of the Law it selfe both Divine and Humane, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme Pastour and Iudge*: And that his subjects of what estate or condition soever, are freed from all bond of oath of allegiance, which at any time they had made unto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (provided they have competent strength and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule among *Christians*, as an *Apostata*, an *Heretike*, a *Backslider*, a *Revolver* from our Lord *Christ*, and an *enemie* to his owne *State* and *Common-wealth*; lest perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the Faith: yea they affirme further, *That if a Prince shall but favour or shew countenance to an heretike, hee presently loseth his kingdome*. By this fierie Divinitie of their owne making, or receiving it from the spirits of error and doctrines of devils, (for those things that are taught

In his Booke  
Philopater.  
Scilicet. 2.



for Doctrines, not being found in the Word of God, are Doctrines of *Devills*, much more they that are contrary to the Doctrines of Gods word) by these Doctrines the *Gunpowder-treason* rooke strength. The *Parliament* dissolved the *seaventh* of *July*, and was prorogued untill the *seaventh* of *February* following. *Catesby* being then at *Lambeth*, sent for *Thomas Winter*, who had beene imployed into *Spaine*, and brake with him upon the blowing up of the *Parliament House*; who answered, that indeed *strucke at the root*: but if it should not take effect, said he, as most of this nature miscarry, the scandall would bee so great which *Catholike Religion* might heereby sustaine, as not onely our enemies, but our friends also would with good reason condemne us. *Catesby* answered, the nature of the disease required so sharpe a remedie, and asked him if hee would give his consent. Yes, said hee, in this or what else soever, he would venture his life. But hee proposed difficulties, as want of an house, and of one to carry the Myne, noyse in the working, and such like. *Catesby* answered, let us give the attempt, & where it faileth passe no further: But first, quoth he, because wee will leave no peaceable and quiet way untryed, you shall goe over and informe the *Constable* of the state of the *Catholikes* here in *England*, intreating him to sollicite his *Majesty* that the penal Lawes may be recalled, & we admitted into the ranke of his other subjects. Withall, you may bring over some confident Gentlemen, such as you shall understand best able for this businesse, and

and named unto him Master *Fawkes*. Shortly after, *Winter* passed the Seas, and found the *Constable* at *Bergen* neare *Dunkirk*: where by helpe of Master *Owen* hee delivered his message. Whose answer was, that hee had strict command from his Master, to doe all good offices for the *Catholikes*, and for his owne part hee thought himselfe bound in conscience so to doe, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but hee spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Master *Owen*, they had speech whether the *Constable* would faithfully helpe them, or no: *Owen* said, hee beleevved nothing lesse, and that they sought onely their owne ends, holding small account of *Catholikes*. *Winter* told him, that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Countrey untill they had tryed the uttermost. And to adde one more to their company, as a fit man both for Counsell and Execution of whatsoever they should resolve, wished for Master *Fawkes*, who as hee had heard, was a man of good commendation. *Owen* told him the Gentleman deserved no lesse, but was at *Brussels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might before *Winters* departure, hee would send him shortly after into *England*. *Winter* went shortly after to *Ostend*; where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two dayes after. *Winter* remained with him three or foure dayes. In which time hee asked him, if the *Catholikes* in *England* should do any thing to helpe themselves, whether he thought the Arch-  
Duke

Duke would second them? he answered, No. For all those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no speech of other enterprise. Neither were it fit, said he, to set any project a foot, now the peace is upon concluding. *Winter* told him there was no such resolution, and fell into other speech, asking him of Master *Fawkes*, whom Sir *William* much commended: and as they were in speech, *Fawkes* came in. Sir *William* told him, this is the Gentleman you spake of; and after they had imbraced, *Winter* told *Fawkes* that some good friends of his wished his company in *England*, and appointed to meet at *Dunkirk*, where they might conferre.

Meeting at *Dunkirk*, they had conference, and resolved both to come into *England*. They came first to *Catesby*, where came Master *Thomas Percy*. The first word hee spake after hee came into their company, was, *Shall wee alwayes, Gentlemen, talke and never doe any thing?* *Catesby* tooke him aside, and had speech of somewhat to bee done, so as first they might all take an oath of secrecie; which within few dayes after they did. The oath was this: *You shall sweare by the blessed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall bee proposed to you so keepe secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, untill the rest shall give you leave.* This oath was first taken by *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Wright* and *Fawkes*, behinde *Saint Clements*. After the Oath taken, they went into the next roome and heard *Masse*, and received the

the Sacrament upon it. That done, *Catesby* disclosed to *Percie*, and *Winter* and *Iacke Wright* to *Fawkes* the businesse, for which they tooke the oath, which they approved. Then was *Percie* sent to take the house, which they understood did belong to one *Ferris*, which with some difficultie in the end he obtained, and became Tenant to *Whinyard*, as *Ferris* was before. *Fawkes* underwent the name of Master *Percie his man*, calling himselfe *Johnson*, because his face was most unknowne, and received the keyes of the house, untill they heard that the *Parliament* was adjourned to the seaventh of *February*. At which time they all departed severall waies into the Countrey, to meet againe at the beginning of *Michaelmas Terme*. It was thought convenient to have a house to receive provision of *Powder* and *wood* for the Mine; from which house the provision might bee conveyed to that house which *Percy* had taken: this was taken in *Lambeth*, and *Keyes* was appointed the trustie keeper thereof. When they were agreed to begin and set things in order for the mine, they were staied a while, because the *Scottish* Lords were appoynted to sit in conference of the *Vnion* in *Percy his house*. The time of their sitting being past, they entred upon the mine, having provided themselves of baked meats, the lesse to need sending abroad.

Whilest they were together, they fell into discourse what they should doe after this deed was done. The first question was, how they might surprise the next heire? The *Prince* happily would bee at *Parliament* with the *King* his Father: how

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should they then bee able to seaze upon the Duke? This burden *Percy* undertooke, that by his acquaintance hee with other Gentlemen would enter the Chamber without suspition, and having some doozen others at severall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horsebacke at the Court gate to receiue him, hee would undertake (*the blow being given*, untill which hee would attend in the *Dukes* Chamber) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the Court would bee absent, and such as were there, not suspecting or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, it were easie to surprize her in the country, by drawing friends together at an hunking, neere the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Asby*, Master *Catesby* his house being not farre off, was a fit place for preparation. The next was for money and horses, which if they could provide in any reasonable measure, (having the heyre apparant) and the first knowledge by foure or five daies was oddes sufficient. Then what Lords they should save from the *Parliament*, which was first agreed in generall, as many as they could that were *Catholikes* or so disposed; but after they descended to speake of particulars. Next, what *forraine Princes* they should acquaint with this before, or joyne with after. For this poynt they agreed, that first they could not injoyne Princes to that secrecie, nor oblige them by oath, so to be secure of their promise; beside, they know not whe. her they will approve the project or dislike it. And if they doe allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspition;

tion; and not to provide untill the businesse were acted; the same letter that carried the newes of the thing done; might as well intreat their helpe and furtherance. *Spain* is too slowe in their preparations, to hope any good from the first extremities, and *France* too neere and too dangerous, who with the Shipping of *Holland* wee feared of all the world might make away with us. While they were in the middle of these discourses, they heard that the *Parliament* would bee anew adjourned untill after *Michaelmas*, upon which tidings they brake off both discourse and working. About *Candlemas* they brought over in a Boat the Powder which they had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Master *Percy* his house; because they would have all their danger in one place. Then falling to their worke in the Mine, they came against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through. At which time they called *Kit Wright* to their company; but as they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a Cellar of removing of coales. Whereupon they feared that they had been discovered, and they sent *Fawkes* to go to the Cellar, who finding that the coales were a felling, and that the Cellar was to be let, viewing the opportunity thereof for their purpose, *Percy* went and hired the same for yearly rent. They had before this provided twenty Barrells of Powder, which they removed into the Cellar, and covered them with billets and faggots which they had provided for that purpose.

After this they thought fit to send *Fawkes* to  
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acquaint Sir *William Stanly* and Master *Owen* with this matter, but so, that they might receive the Oath of secrecie. The reason why they desired Sir *William Stanly* should bee acquainted herewith, was to have him with them so soone as hee could. And for Master *Owen*, hee might hold good correspondencies after with forraine Princes. Master *Fawkes* departed away about *Easter* for *Flanders*, and returned in the end of *August*. He brought word that Sir *William Stanly* was not returned from *Spaine*, so as hee uttered the matter onely to *Owen*, who seemed well pleased with the businesse, but told him, that surely Sir *William* would not bee acquainted with any plot, as having businesse now a foot in the Court of *England*; but hee himselfe would bealwayes ready to tell him, and send him away so soone as it were done.

About this time Master *Percy* and *Catesby* met at the *Bathe*. Where they agreed, that the company being yet but few, *Catesby* should have the others authoritie to call in whom hee thought best. Whereupon hee called in Sir *Everard Digby*, and after that, Master *Tresham*. The first promised fiftene hundreth pounds, the second two thousand pounds. Master *Percy* promised all that hee could get of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, which was about foure thousand pounds, and to provide many gallopping Horses, to the number of ten.

Meane while, *Fawkes* and *Winter* brought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to bee danke,  
and



and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order as they resolved it should stand. Then was the *Parliament* anew prorogued untill the fifth of *November*. So that all of them went downe till some ten dayes before. When *Catesby* came up with *Fawkes* to an house by *Enfield Chase*, called *Whitewebs*, whither *Winter* came to them: *Catesby* willed *Winter* to inquire whether the yong *Prince* came to the *Parliament*. *Winter* told him, that hee heard that his *Grace* thought not to be there. Then said *Catesby*, must wee have our horses beyond the water, and provision of more company to surpise the *Prince*, and leave the *Duke* alone.

All things thus prepared, the *Saturday* of the weeke immediately preceding the Kings returne, which was upon *Thursday*, (being but tenne dayes before the *Parliament* :) The Lord *Monteagle*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, being in his owne lodging ready to goe to supper at seaven of the clocke at night, one of his foot men, whom hee had sent of an errand over the street, was met by an unknowne man, of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it into my Lord his Masters hands: which my Lord no sooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknowne, and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or subscription; did call one of his men to him for helping him to reade it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although hee was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it, (as whether of a *matter*

of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised *Pasquill* by some of his enemies, to skarre him from his attendance at the *Parliament*, ) yet did hee as a most dutifull and loyall subject conclude not to conceale it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the latenesse and darkenesse of the night, in such a season of the yeere, he presently repaired to his Majesties Pallace of *White-hall*, and there delivered the same to the Earle of *Salisbury*, his Majesties principall *Secretary*. The Earle having read the Letter, and heard of the manner of comming of it to his hands, did greatly incourage and commend the Lord for his discretion; telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the Letter might proove heereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the Seas, wherewith hee had acquainted as well the King himselfe, as divers of his Privie Councillours concerning some businesse the *Papists* were in, both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this *Parliament*'s time; for inabling them to deliver at that time to the King, some Petition for toleration of Religion, which should bee delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the King should bee loath to refuse their requests; like the *Starv'd Beggars* craving almes with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other in case of refusall. And therefore did the Earle of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Monteagle*, that hee would in regard of the

*Kings*

*Kings* absence, impart the same Letter to some more of his Majesties Conncell. Whereof the Lord *Monteagle* liked well, onely adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not bee imputed to him, and proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension that hee delivered this Letter, being onely mooved thereto for demonstration of his readie devotion and care, for preservation of his Majestie and the State. And thus did the Earle of *Salisbury* presently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlaine* with the said Letter. Whereupon they two in the presence of the Lord *Monteagle*, calling to minde the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this Letter; the tender care which they ever had to the preservation of his Majesties person, made them apprehend, that some perillous attempt did thereby appeare to bee intended against the same, which did the more neerely concerne the Lord *Chamberlaine* to have care of, in regard that it doeth belong to the charge of his Office, to oversee as well all places of Assemblie where his Maieestie is to repaire, as his *Hignesse* owne private houses. And therefore did the said two Councillers conclude, that they should ioine unto them three more of the Councill, to wit, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, to bee also particularly acquainted with this accident. Who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the said Letter, they did

did conclude, that how sleight a matter it might at the first appeare to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it be-  
hooved them to have of the preservation of his *Majesties* person. But yet resolved for two reasons, first to acquaint the *King* himselfe with the same, before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the *expectation* and *experience* they had of his *Majesties* fortunate judgement in clearing and solving of obscure riddles, and doubtfull mysteries; as also because the more time would in the meane while bee given for the practise to ripen, if any was, whereby the discoverie might bee the more cleare and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easie. And so according to their determination did the Earle of *Salisbury* repaire to the *King* in his gallery upon *Friday* being *Alballow* day in the afternoone, which was the day after his *Majesties* arrivall, and none but himselfe being present with his *Hignes* at that time: where without any other speech or judgement given of the Letter, but only relating simply the forme of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his *Majestie*, the contents of the Letter are as followeth.

*My Lord, out of the love I beare to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your selfe into your Countrey, where*

where you may expect the event in safetie: for though there bee no apparance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsell is not to bee contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harme: for the danger is past, as soone as you shall have burned this Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; To whose holy protection I commend you.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, & then reading it over againe, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort as he thought it was not to be contemned. For that the style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, then is usuall to be in a Pasquill or Libell, (the superfluities of idle braines.) But the Earle of Salisbury perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier then hee looked for, knowing his nature, told him, that he thought by one sentence in it, that it was like to bee written by some foole or mad-man, reading to him this sentence in it: *For the danger is past as soone as you have burned the Letter*; which, hee said, was like to bee the saying of a foole. For if the danger was past so soone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooved to be of little availle, when the burning of this Letter might make the danger to bee eschewed. But the King by the contrary, considering the former sentence in the Letter: *That they should receive a terrible blowe as this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*; joyning it to the sentence immediately following already alleadged, did thereupon conjecture that

the *danger* mentioned should bee some *sudden* danger by *blowing up of powder*: for no other insurrection, rebellion, or whatsoever other private or desperate attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of *Parliament*, and the authours thereof unseene, except it were only by a blowing up of Powder, which might bee performed by one base knave in a darke corner. Whereupon hee was mooved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the Letter, (alleged by the Earle of *Salisbury*) against all ordinary sense and construction in *Grammar*, as if by these words, *For the danger is past, as soone as you have burned the Letter*, should bee closely understood the sudden and quicknesse of the danger, which should bee as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should bee of blazing up in the fire, turning that word, *as soone*, to that sense of, *as quickly*. And therefore wished, that before his going to *Parliament*, the under-rooms of the *Parliament House* might bee well and narrowly searched. It must bee confessed, that God put this understanding in the *Kings* heart. For albeit now upon the event made knowne, a man may easily see that no other construction can be made of the Letter, then that which the *King* made: yet before the event was knowne, the wisest did not apprehend that understanding. And therefore we must acknowledge, that God would have it knowne, and brought to knowledge by the *King* himselfe, that all the bodie of the *kingdome* might rest most under God, beholding to the *King*, their *Head*, for the generall de-

deliverance. The Earle of *Salisbury* wondring at his *Majesties* commentary, which hee knew to bee farre contrary to his ordinary and naturall disposition, who did rather ever sinne upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisement of *practises* and *perils*, when he was duely informed of them, whereby hee had many times drawn himselfe into many desperate dangers, and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole State more then of his owne person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designement had succeeded: hee thought good to dissemble still unto the *King*, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension. And ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custome is, tooke his leave for that time.

But though hee seemed so to neglect it to his Majestie, yet his customable and watchfull care of the *King* and the State still boyling within him, and having with the blessed *Virgin Marie*, layd up in his heart the *Kings* so strange judgement, and construction of it, he could not be at rest till he acquainted the foresaid *Lords* what had passed betwene the *King* and *Him* in private. Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew againe the memory of the same purpose to his Majesty, as it was agreed, that he should the next day being *Saturday*, repair to his *Highnesse*. Which he did in the same privie gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord *Chamberlaine* then being present with the



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*King.* At which time it was determined, that the said Lord *Chamberlaine* should according to his custome and Office, view all the *Parliament houses*, both above and belowe, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them. But yet as well for staying of idle rumours, as for being the more able to discerne any mystery the neerer that things were in readinesse, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoone before the sitting downe of the *Parliament*, which was upon the *Munday* following. At what time hee (according to his conclusion) went to the *Parliament house* accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, being in zeale to the *Kings* service earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer. Where having viewed all the lower roomes, hee found in the vault under the upper house great store of provision of Billets, Faggots and Coales. And inquiring of *Whinyard* keeper of the Wardrop, to what use hee had put those lower roomes and cellars? he told him that *Thomas Percy* had hired both the House, and part of the Cellar of Vault under the same. And that the wood and coale therein, was the sayd Gentlemans owne provision. Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlaine* casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himselfe the said *Percy* his man, and keeper of that house for him, which was *Guido Fawkes*, the instrument which should have acted that monstrous tragedie.

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The Lord Chamberlaine, looking upon all things with an heedfull eye, yet in outward appearance with but a carelesse and rackleffe countenance, hee presently addressed himself to the King in the said privy Gallery, where in the presenke of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admirall, the Earles of Worcester, Northampton and Salisbury, he made his report what hee had seene and observed there. Noting, that Montegle had told him, that hee no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to bee the possessor of that house, but considering both his backwardnes in Religion, and the old dearenesse in friendship between himselfe and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the Letter should come from him. The Lord Chamberlaine also told, that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood & coale in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldome occasion to remaine: as likewise it gave him in his mind, that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow. This could not but increase the Kings former apprehension and jelousie. Whereupon he insisted as before, that the house was narrowly to be searched, and that those Billets and Coales would be searched to the bottome, it being most suspitious, that they were laid there onely for the covering of the powder. Of this same mind also were all the Councillers then present.

But upon the fashion of making the search was it long debated. For on the one side they were also jelous of the Kings safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for pre-

venting the danger; and yet on the other part, they were all extreame loath & dainty, that in case this Letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle braine, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not onely turne to the generall scandall of the King and the State, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earle of *Northumberland*, one of his Majesties greatest Subiects and Councillors, this *Thomas Percie* being his kinsman, and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how farre the King detested to bee thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good Subiects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the maine ground, which was to provide for the securitie of the Kings person, yet did they much differ in circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least dinne, and occasion of slander. But the King himselfe still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, that either must all the parts of those roomes be narrowly searched, and no possibilitie of danger left unexamined, or else hee and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to goe the next day to the *Parliament*, and leave the successe to Fortune, which hee beleevved they would bee loath to take upon their Consciences: for in such a case as this, an *halfe doing* was worse then

then *no doing at all*. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses. And yet for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of *Whitwicks* missing some of the Kings stuffe or hangings, which he had in keeping, all those tooomes should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir *Thomas Knevett*, (a Gentleman of his Majesties Privie Chamber) imployed, being a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose ancient fidelitie both the late *Queene*, and our now *Soveraigne* have had large proofe. Where according to the trust committed unto him, went about the mid-night next after to the *Parliament House*, accompanied with such a small number, as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding *Thomas Percies* alleadged man standing without the doores, his Cloathes and Bootes on at so dead a time of night, hee resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house. Where, after hee had caused to be clove turned some of the Billets and Coales, he first found one of the small Barrells of powder, and after all the rest, to the number of *thirtie sixe barrells great and small*. And thierafter searching the fellow whom hee had taken, found three machetts, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him, which made him instantly confesse his owne guiltinesse: declaring also unto him, that if he had happened to be within the house when hee took him, as he was

immediately before (at the ending of his worke) he would not have failed to have blowne him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himselfe returned backe to the Kings Pallace; and gave warning of his successe to the Lord Chamberlaine and Earle of Salisbury, who immediately warning the rest of the Councell that lay in the house, as soone as they could get themselves ready, came with their fellow Councillers to the Kings Bed-chamber, being at that timeneere foure of the clocke in the morning. And at the first entry of the Kings Chamber doore, the Lord Chamberlaine, being not any longer able to conceale his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the King in a confused haste that all was found and discovered, and the traynor in hands and fast bound.

Then order being first taken for sending for the rest of the Councell that lay in the towne, the prisoner himselfe was brought into the house. Where in respect of the strangenesse of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight in speaking with him: and within a while after the Councell did examine him. Who, seeming to put on a Roman resolution, did both to the Councell, and to every other person that spake to him that day, appeare so constant and settled in his grounds, as they all thought they had found a new Mutius Scævola borne in England. For notwithstanding the horriour of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surpris-  
ing,

sing, the terror which should have stricken him by comming into the presence of so grave a *Councell*, and the restlesse and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornfull manner, nor only avowing the fact, but repenting onely with the said *Scavola* his failing in the execution thereof; whereof, he said, *The Devill* and not *God*, was the discoverer; answering quickly to every mans objections, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded to him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authoritie to examine him. All that day could the *Councell* get nothing out of him touching his complices, refusing to answer to any such questions which he thought might discover his plot, and laying all the blame upon himselfe. Whereunto he said, he was moved onely for *Religion* and conscience sake, denying the *King* to be his lawfull *Soveraigne*, or the anoynted of *God*, in respect hee was an *Heresike*, and giving himselfe no other name then *Iohn Iohnson*, servant to *Thomas Percie*. But the next morning being carryed to the Tower, he did not there remaine above two or three dayes, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the Racke onely offered and shewed unto him, when the maske of his *Romish fortitude* did visibly begin to weare and slide off his face. And then did hee beginne to confesse part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter. Out of his confession, and especially out of the confession of *Thomas Winter*, have we drawne the

preceding narration. The confession of *Fawkes* was taken presently after his apprehension. The confession of *Winter* was taken the 17. of *November* before the Lords of the *Councell*,

They that were first in the treason, and laboured in the Mine, were *Robert Catesby*, *Robert Winter*, *Esquires*, *Thomas Percie*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, *Christopher Wright*, *Guido Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Bates*, *Catesbys* man. They that were made acquainted with it, though not personally labouring in the mine nor in the cellar, were *Everard Digby*, Knight, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Francis Tresham*, *Esquires*, *Iohn Grant*, Gentleman, and *Robert Keyes*.

The newes was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a *Tuesday*, the fifth of *November*, and the first day designed for that Session of *Parliament*: but some of those Conspirators, namely *Winter*, and the two *Wrights*, brethren, thought it high time for them to hasten out of the Towne, (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at foure of the clocke in the morning the same day of the discovery) and al of them held their course with more hast then good speed to *Warwickshire* toward *Coventry*, where the next day morning being *Wednesday*, and about the same houre that *Fawkes* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Grant*, a Gentleman, having associated to him some others of his opinion, all violent *Papists*, and strong *Recusants*, came to a Stable of one *Benock*, a rider of great horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses



horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen & Gentlemen of that Countrey, who had put them into the riders hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that companie of them which fled out of London, as also Grant and his complices met all together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby his lodging, the Tuesday at night after the discoverie of this treacherous attempt. The which Digby had likewise for his part appoynted a match of hunting to have been hunted the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was Nimrod like, upon a farre other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men, then of brute beasts.

This company and hellish societie thus convened, finding their purpose discovered, and their treachery prevented, did resolve to runne a desperate course, and since they could not prevaile by so private a blow, to practise by a publike rebellion, either to attaine to their intents, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, having intercepted such provision of armour, horses and powder, as the time could permit, thought by running up and downe the Countrey, both to augment piece by piece their number: (dreaming to themselves, that they had the vertue of a Snowball, which being little at the first, and tumbling downe a great hill, groweth to great quantitie, by increasing it selfe with the snow that it meeteth

in the way) and also that they beginning first this brave shew in one part of the Countrey, should by their sympathy and example stir up and incourage the rest of their Religion in other parts of *England* to rise, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their Force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourescore. And yet were they troubled all the houres of the day, to keepe and containe their owne servants from stealing from them. Who notwithstanding of all their care, daily left them, being farre inferiour to *Gideons* hoste in number, but farre more in faith and justnesse of the quartell. And so after that this *Catholike* troupe had wandred a while through *Warwickshire* to *Worcestershire*, and from thence to the edge and borders of *Staffordshire*, this gallantly armed band had not the honour at the last to bee beaten with a Kings Lieutenant, or extraordinarie Commissioner sent downe for the purpose, but onely by the ordinary *Sheriffe* of *Worcestershire*, were they all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumstance, so admirable and so lively displaying the greatnesse of Gods justice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the same. Although divers of the Kings Proclamations were posted downe after these traytours with all speed possible; declaring the odiousnesse of the bloody attempt, the necessitie to have had *Percie* preserved alive, if it had been possible, and the assemblie of that rightely damned crew, now no more darkned conspirators, but

but open and avowed Rebels : yet the farre distance of the way, (which was above an hundred miles) together with the extreame deepnesse thereof joyned also with the shortnesse of the day, was the cause that the heartie and loving affections of the Kings good subjects in those parts, prevented the speed of his *Proclamations*. For upon the third day after the flying downe of these Rebels, which was upon the *Friday* next after the discovery of their plot, they were most of them all surpris'd by the *Sheriffe of Worcester shire at Holbeach*, about the noone of the day, in maner following

*Grant*, of whom mention was made before for the taking of the great horses, who had not all the preceeding time stirred from his owne house till the next morning after the attempt should bee put in execution, hee then saying, *his accompt without his Host*, (as the *Proverbes*) that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped for successe, tooke or rather stole out those horses, for inabling him & so many of that soule-lesse society that had still remained in the country neere about him ; to make a sudden surprize upon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, having her residence neere to that place, whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous designe (his Majestie her Father, her Mother, & male children being all destroyed above.) And to this purpose also had that *Nimrod Digby* provided his hunting match against the same time, that, numbers of people being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier

have brought to passe the sudden surprise of her person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day, did seeme to bee so great a ryot in the eies of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery, and the bold attempting thereof, did ingender such a suspition of some following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small beganne to stirre and arme themselves vpon this unlooked for accident. Among whom *S<sup>r</sup> Fulk Grevil* the elder, Knight, as became one both so ancient in yeres and good reputation, and by his office being Deputy *Laientenant of Warwickshire*, though unable in his body, yet by the zeale and true fervencie of his mind, did first apprehend this foresaid ryot to bee nothing but the sparkles, or sure *Indices* of a following rebellion. Whereupon both stoutly and honestly hee tooke order to get into his owne hands the munition and armour of all such Gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their owne houses, or in a doubtfull guard, and also sent such direction to the townes about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of *Winter* by a poore Smith, who had likewise beene taken by those vulgar people, but that hee was rescued by the rest of his companie; who perceiving that the Countrey before them had notice of them, hastened away with losse in their owne sight, sixteene of their followers being taken by the Townesmen, and sent presently to the *Sheriffe at Warwicke*, and from thence to *London*.

But

But before twelve or sixteene houres past, *Gatesby, Percie, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood* and the rest bringing then the assurance that their maine plot was sayled and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: they then tooke their last desperate resolution, to flocke together in a troupe, and wander as they did, for the reasons aforetold. But as upon the one part, the zealous dutie to their GOD and their Sovereigne was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people, (although then knowing of no farther myserie, then such publike misbehaviours; as their owne eyes taught them) as, notwithstanding their fayre shewes and pretence of their *Catholique* Cause, no creature, man or woman through all the Countrey would once so much as give them willingly a cup of drinke, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them. So on the other part, the *Sheriffes* of the Shires where-through they wandered, convening their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotely after them, as the evilnesse of the way, and the unprovidednesse of their people upon that sudden could permit them. And so at last after *Sir Richard Verney*, Sheriffe of *Warwickeshire* had carefully and straightly beene in chase of them to the confines of his Countie, part of the meaner sort beeing also apprehended by him: *Sir Richard Walsb*, Sheriffe of *Worcestershire*, did likewise dutifully and hotely pursue them through his Shire.

And

*Holbeach in  
Staffordshire,  
the house of  
Stephen Lit-  
leton.*

And having gotten sure triall of their taking harbour at the house above-named, hee sent Trumpetters and Messengers unto them, commanding them in the *Kings* Name, to render to him his Majesties Minister; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt, then was publikely visible, did promise, upon their dutifull and obedient rendering to him, to intercede at the *Kings* hands for the sparing of their lives; who received onely from them this scornefull answer (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evill consciences) that hee had need of better assistance, then of those few numbers that were with him, before hee could be able to command or controll them.

But here fell the wondrous worke of Gods Iustice, that while this message passed betweene the *Sheriffe* and them: the *Sheriffe* and his peoples zeale being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault: and the other partie making themselves readie within the house to performe their promise by a defence as resolute; it pleased God, that in the mending of the fire in their Chamber, one small sparke should flye out and light among lesse then two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the Chimney: which being thereby blowne up, so maimed the faces of some of the principall Rebels, and the hands and sides of other of them, (blowing up with it also a great bag full of Powder, which notwithstanding never tooke fire) as they were not only

onely disabled and discouraged hereby from any further resistance, in respect *Catesby* himselfe, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and divers others of greatest account among them, were thereby made unable for defence, but also wonderfully stricken with amazement in their guiltie Consciences, calling to memory how *God* had justly punished them with that same instrument, which they should have used for the effectuating of so great a sinne; according to the old saying, *In quo peccavimus, in eodem plectimur*. Inas much as they presently, (see the wonderfull power of Gods justice upon guilty consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying *God* to pardon them for their bloody Enterprise. And after that, giving over any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the *Sheriffes* people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their owne present destruction; The three specials of them joyning backs together, *Catesby*, *Percie* and *Winter*; whereof two with one shot, *Catesby* and *Percie*, were slaine; *Winter* was taken and saved alive.

And thus these resolute and high-aspiring *Catholikes*, who dreamed of no lesse then the destruction of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, and promised to themselves no lower estate then the government of great and ancient *Monarchies*, were miserably defeated and quite overthrowne in an instant, falling into the pit which they had prepared for others; And so fulfilling that sentence which his *Majestie* did in a manner prophesie of them in his Oration to the *Parliament*: some presently slaine, others



deadly wounded, stripped of their cloathes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold then of the danger of their wounds, and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the Sheriffe, the ordinary Minister of Iustice, to the Gaole, the ordinary place even of the basest malefactors, where they remained till their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them as the rarest sort of Monsters, fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiositie in seeing the outward cases of so unheard of a villany, and generally all sorts of people to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so farre admired and detested, serving so for a fearefull and publike spectacle of Gods fierce wrath and just indignation. They lived blindly, they practised divellishly, they dyed desperately: Their memory is cursed throughout all generations.

Now what have our adversaries to say to these, or what can wee say to these things, but that there is a God in heaven, that destroyeth all the purposes of the Pope on earth? Whatsoever have beene attempted against us, the Pope is firme on their side; God hath manifested himselfe many wayes to be on our side. What cause have we then, and how many wayes are we provoked to trust in God, to love him, to worship him, that so miraculously hath

hath defended us to cleave with all singleness  
of heart to that cause that hath been so mightily  
maintained by Gods hand and power. And what  
cause have our adversaries to examine themselves,  
and more narrowly to examine the cause which  
God by so many Judgements hath condemned?  
The people of *Israel* were mightily protected by  
the hand of God, and so long as they truly served  
God, all their adversaries could never prevaile a-  
gainst them, they were defended by power from  
above, God did watch over them; but when they  
fell from God, God did suffer them to fall into the  
hands of their enemies. There will hardly be found a  
ny president even among the people of God, that  
for so many yeeres together they have been con-  
tinually delivred from so many, so cruelly inten-  
ded, so dangerous assaults. The deepest devises of  
malice, reaching even from hell unto hellish men  
upon earth, have been practised against us, as this  
last which came from the deepnesse of *Sutans* where-  
in without sword or speare, without any shew of  
warlike preparations, their hellish device was at  
one blowe to root out Religion; to destroy the  
State, the Head with the Body, the King with the  
State, the Father of our Countrey, the Mother of  
our Countrey, the Olive branches, the hopefull suc-  
cession of our King, the Reverend Clergie, the Ho-  
nourable Nobilitie, the Faithfull Counsellors, the  
grave Judges, the greatest part of our Knights and  
Gentrie, the choycest Burgeses, the Officers of the  
Crowne, Counsell, Signet, Seales, and of other Seates  
of Judgement, the learned Lawyers, with an infinite

Psal. 124. 1.

number of *Common people*, the *Hall of Justice*, the *Houses of the Parliament*, the *Church* used for the *Coronation of our Kings*, the *Monuments of our former Princes*, all *Records of Parliament*, and of *every* particular mans right, with a great number of *Charters*, and other things of this nature; all these things had the Devill by his agents devised at one secret blow to destroy. *If the Lord had not beene on our side, may Israel now say, if the Lord had not beene on our side when men rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quicke, when their wrath was kindled against us: praised bee the Lord, which hath not given us up a prey to their teeth, our soule is escaped, as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler; the snare is broken, and wee are delivered: our helpe is in the name of the Lord which hath made heaven and earth.*

Wee labour against the *Papists* to proove our Church a true Church of God: They on the other side labour to proove themselves the onely *Catholike Church*, and our Assemblies to bee, as they call them, *Assemblies of Heretikes*. God hath determined this Controversie most evidently by his *Word*, and most powerfully from Heaven, by his continuall *protection* of us; and destruction of all the wicked practises which they have attempted against us. Was there ever *any cause* in the world so strongly maintained on the one side, as *our cause* hath beene? Was there ever *any execrable practises* in the world so powerfully condemned from heaven, as *their practises* have beene? God open their *eyes*, that they may see  
and

and understand that they *fight against GOD*. The *Church of Rome*, so long as it stood the *Church of God*, did never practise either by open warres, or by secret Conspiracies, to destroy *Kings*, and subvert *Kingdomes*; but by the *preaching of Gods Word*, by *examples of pietie and sanctimonie*, laboured to draw the ignorant unto the *knowledge and obedience of the truth*. That course is now utterly forsaken of them; for how can they teach the *truth* to others, that are themselves in ignorance, and *in the shadow of death*? Or how can they give *Examples* of an holy life, whose whole practice and conversation is in bloud, in malice, in wicked and wretched actions? And will they never understand, that they who practise such things, *cannot inherite the Kingdome of God*? cannot bee the *Church of God*? cannot pray to God, nor expect any blessing from him upon their execrable practises? There is a manifest change of their *Church*, and they will not see it. They aske us, when was this change, under what *King*, under what *Emperor*, under what *Pope*? But if they were wise, they would first inquire whether there bee a change or no? and then inquire further of the time and manner of it. Wee say that which no man can denie, that there is a notorious change: this is evident; for the *Church of old* never allowed the cruelty, the impietie, the execrable wickednesse which is daily practised by the great Masters of the *Church of Rome*, and allowed and approved by the *Pope*. Then *there is a change*, and it is evident to all. But this is a change of *manners*

of the Church, nor of the Doctrines. If therefore they demand of us, how a change of the doctrines may be proved? Wee are able to poynt out from time to time, that the Doctrines, which they have invented, were never heard of in the Church before such times as we are able to poynt at. Master Jewel the reverend Bishop of Salisbury, for pietie and learning the *mirrour* of his time, hath made full and faire proofe; that of those Articles, where in hee challenged all the learned of the Church of Rome, not one of them was ever taught in the Church before the yeere of Christ 600. his Prooofes stand unanswered to this day. Though Master Harding hath done his best to examine them, who wanted neither *Learning* nor *Eloquence*, but onely *Truth* wanting on his side, the challenge is still made good. Wee are also able to poynt to another time, before the yeere of Christ 1000, many of the greatest and grossest errors in *Papery* were never taught or heard in the Church, as the Doctrines of *Transubstantiation*, of the *Reall presence*, as it is understood in the Church of Rome, of the *Popes power* to depose Kings, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, or to warrant their Subjects to rebell against them, of the Doctrines of *Grace* and *Iustification*, as now they are taught in the Church of Rome, of the doctrine of *Merits*, whether *ex congruo* or *condigno*, of the *Seven Sacraments*, and many other of this nature, of which wee are assured, that not one of them can be proved ever to have beene taught or heard of in the Church before the yeere of Christ one thousand.

stand: Wee are further able to poyn't to another time, before which the Rule of Faith was never changed in the Church; this was their last attempt in the poynts of Doctrine, a desperate attempt against the truth. For from the Apostles time till the Councell of Trent, the Rule of Faith was ever held in the Church one and the same; that is, the Doctrine contained in the sacred Canonickall Scriptures. That this onely Rule of Faith was held in the Church till the Councell of Trent, it is evidently proved by the full consent of the ancient Fathers, and moreover by the confession of all Writers in the Church of Rome before the Councell of Trent: such as were <sup>a</sup> Bernard, <sup>b</sup> Peter Lombard, <sup>c</sup> Thomas Aquinas, <sup>d</sup> Iohannes Scotus, <sup>e</sup> Durandus, <sup>f</sup> Clemens 1. Pope, <sup>g</sup> Cardinalis Cameracensis, <sup>h</sup> Iohn Gerson, <sup>i</sup> Conradus Clingius, <sup>k</sup> Ios: Acosta, <sup>l</sup> Alfonsus de Castro, and many others. To repeat the Testimonies of all; would bee tedious. Let it suffice to reapeate one Testimonie of Aquinas, wherein all the rest agree. Aquinas in the first place cited, saith: *Prophetarum & Apostolorum doctrina, dicitur Canonica, quia est regula intellectus nostri, & ideo nullus aliter debet docere*; that is, The Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles is called Canonickall, because it is the Rule of our understanding, and therefore no man ought to teach otherwise. And in the second place cited, hee saith, *Iniungitur Fides nostra revelationi Apostolis & Prophetis facta*; that is, Our Faith resteth upon the revelation made to the Apostles and Prophets. Then, Traditions was never accounted the Rule of our under-

a In Cant.  
Cant. serm 30.  
b Lib. 1 sent.  
dist. 1.  
c In 1. ad Tim.  
cap. 6. & Sum.  
par. 1. q. 1. ar. 8.  
d In prolog.  
Sen 9. 2.  
e Praef. in Sent.  
f Distinct. 37  
c. 14.  
g Sent. 9. 1. art.  
3. 1. coroll. lit. H  
i De com. sub  
utraq; specie.  
k Locor. lib. 3.  
cap. 29.  
l De revel. An-  
richr. apud Pos-  
sev. Biblioth.  
select lib. 2.  
cap. 25.  
m Lib. 13. v. v.  
bo, Scriptura.

\* *Consensus  
Catholica Ec-  
clesia contra  
Tridentinos.*

understanding, or that whereupon our Faith must rest, though the same be more fully proved out of the *Scriptures* themselves, and from a full content of the ancient *Fathers*, as is \* otherwhere manifested: yet this I thought heere might suffice to declare the opinions of them that lived in the *Church of Rome* next before the Councell of *Trent*, as many of these did, which I have before named. So that this is evident, the rule of faith was never altered in the *Church of Rome* before the Councell of *Trent*. Then did they alter this Rule, by putting *Traditions* of their *Church* into the rule of Faith, and *Lucifer-like* matching, equalizing and mating the *Wisedome* of God with their owne *folliēs*. Then all is changed, when the *manners* of the *Church*, the *doctrines* of the *Church*, and the very rule of faith is changed. What greater change may be looked for hereafter in the *Church of Antichrist*, I know not; but this is sufficient to move us to forsake them as the congregation of the impious, the *Church* of the *malignant*. And because they have forsaken God and his truth, therefore by the just judgement of God are they permitted to runne into so many *foule errors*, and such wicked and execrable *practises*, that neither *Christians* nor *Heathen*, guided onely by the light of nature, could ever approve. If they say, that we also have our faults and finnes: I answer, that when wee turne our selves to consider our finnes against GOD, wee all finde our selves guiltie, and not able to answer one of a thousand, that hee may justly charge us withall. Our unthankfulnesse to him

is



is so great for his manifold blessings, and wonderfull protection; our sinns we conceale not from him, wee acknowledge unto God, that if he lay his rodde upon us, as wee have deserved, if hee should cast our Land backe againe into that former blindness, wherein it lay in *Paprie*, GOD is just, wee have deserved great punishments. But if wee turne our selves unto another consideration, comparing our Religion with theirs, our practises with theirs, then I say, though wee cannot justifie our selves before God, yet are wee able to justifie our selves in respect of them. Let our enemies bee our Iudges. When evill is committed among us, it is punished, and therein wee rejoyce, that evill is punished. It was never found that execrable practises were approved by us; for that were to forsake Religion: but the most wicked practises that have beene heard of, are not onely committed by them, but approved, yea and commended: as the killing of *Henrie* the third of *France* was practised by a *Fryer*, and commended by the *Pope*. These be the sinnes that doe ripen them for Gods judgements. For the time will come when great *Babylon* shall come in remembrance before the Lord, to give unto her the cup of Wine of the fiercenesse of his wrath: And againe, Therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and shee shall bee burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God which will condemne her. In the meane time wee wayt upon God, and wee doe in all humblenesse of heart offer up to God the sacrifice of praise and

Apoc. 16. 19.

Apoc. 18. 3.

P p

Thankf-

*Thanksgiving*; that it pleased him of his goodnesse, and unsearchable mercies towards us to call us out of *Babylon*, to give us hearts to obey his calling; to make choyce of this Church, which himselfe hath planted in *GALAT BRIT-TAINE*, to inable it to stand against all the furious rage and wicked practises of the *Pope* and his adherents.

But it was our lot to be born in a time of such confusion, and to be brought up in a time of such darkness, that we were able to do but little for the glory of God. We were born in a time of such confusion, and to be brought up in a time of such darkness, that we were able to do but little for the glory of God. We were born in a time of such confusion, and to be brought up in a time of such darkness, that we were able to do but little for the glory of God.

The



*The Conclusion.*

SOME CONSIDERATIONS PROPOSED TO  
such as are not well affected  
to RELIGION.

**K**ings and States, when they are miraculously protected by the hand of God, and delivered from great dangers, may understand what blessing they have by a Church planted in their State. The Church bringeth the blessing to the State: because God regardeth them that are faithfull to him, and for their sakes bleisseth the whole. This Church that bringeth such a blessing to States is much questioned now, where it is, and how to finde it: for divers strive for it, and the true Church is but One.

This is the true Church, that hath held the rule of Faith from the Apostles time: That is the false Church that hath changed that rule.

\* See my Directions to know the true Church.

4 Who hold this rule and who not, may bee knowne by the holy Doctrines contained in the Scripture, *ex consanguinitate doctrine.*

5 Learning is necessary to enable a man to judge aright of these things: but Learning may bee also in men that are corrupt and ungodly. And therefore a man can never be well enabled to judge of these things without the Spirit of God directing his Learning.

6 The true Church is ruled by the Spirit of God; and preserved from errors and heresies, against which the gates of hell shall not prevaile.

7 A Lay man that hath the Spirit of God, is better able to judge of the Church and of the members thereof, then a man in Ecclesiasticall function, that hath not the Spirit of God.

8 They that are contentious, seditious, cruell, malicious, uncleane, adulterers, idolaters, murderers, or such like have not the Spirit of God. The reason is evident, because these and such like are the fruits of the flesh contrary to the fruits of the Spirit.

9 From these principles if the Princes that are of the Romish Religion would bee pleased to examine themselves, their Religion, their best learned and religious men, their Doctrines, their Practices; they might by a generous search easily finde where is Gods Church, and where is Gods Spirit.

10 Withall they may bee pleased to consider the Workes of God, his protection and miraculous defence of his Church; which miraculous defence hath

hath appeared heere over the *Church* of *England* as also elsewhere, but more conspicuous heere; more illustrious examples of Gods mercie will hardly be found any where: God hath for many yeres delivered this *Church*, preserved us in peace, when all the Nations about us have been in bloody warres.

11 It cannot bee proved that God did ever in such manner and so many wayes defend a Nation, but onely there where hee had a *People* of his owne, his true *Church*.

12 It can never be proved that they that *professe* and *practise* malice, crueltie, sedition, idolatrie, and such other *workes of the flesh* are the true *Church of Christ*.

13 They that *make falsehood their refuge*, and hide themselves under vanitie, have no cause to boast themselves to bee the *Catholike Church*. If wee should rehearse the strange *lyes* which they have invened against *Luther, Calvin, Beza*, against divers reverend *Bishops*, whereof some are *departed*, some yet *living*, against the *Church* and *State of England*, it would fill a Booke to speake of their particular *lyes*. They understand well enough whom they serve heerein, their practise is to lye, their hope is that every lye cannot be examined by the common people, they care not though it be found out to be a lye by some, so it bee not found by the multitude, whom to deceive is their chiefe care; not respecting God, nor Truth, nor Gods *Church*, which is the *Pillar of truth*, and may not be maintained with *lyes*.

14 How the *Pope*, the *Iesuites*, the whole *Church of Rome* is well knowne by the *fruites of the flesh*, and how the *fruites of the Spirit of God* could never for these many hundreth yeeres bee observed in them, I leave to the consciences of all to consider, but especially to the great Judge that must judge them and us.

Whose blessed and joyfull comming the true *Church* doth love and wayt for in  
*Faith and Patience.*

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FIN IS.

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